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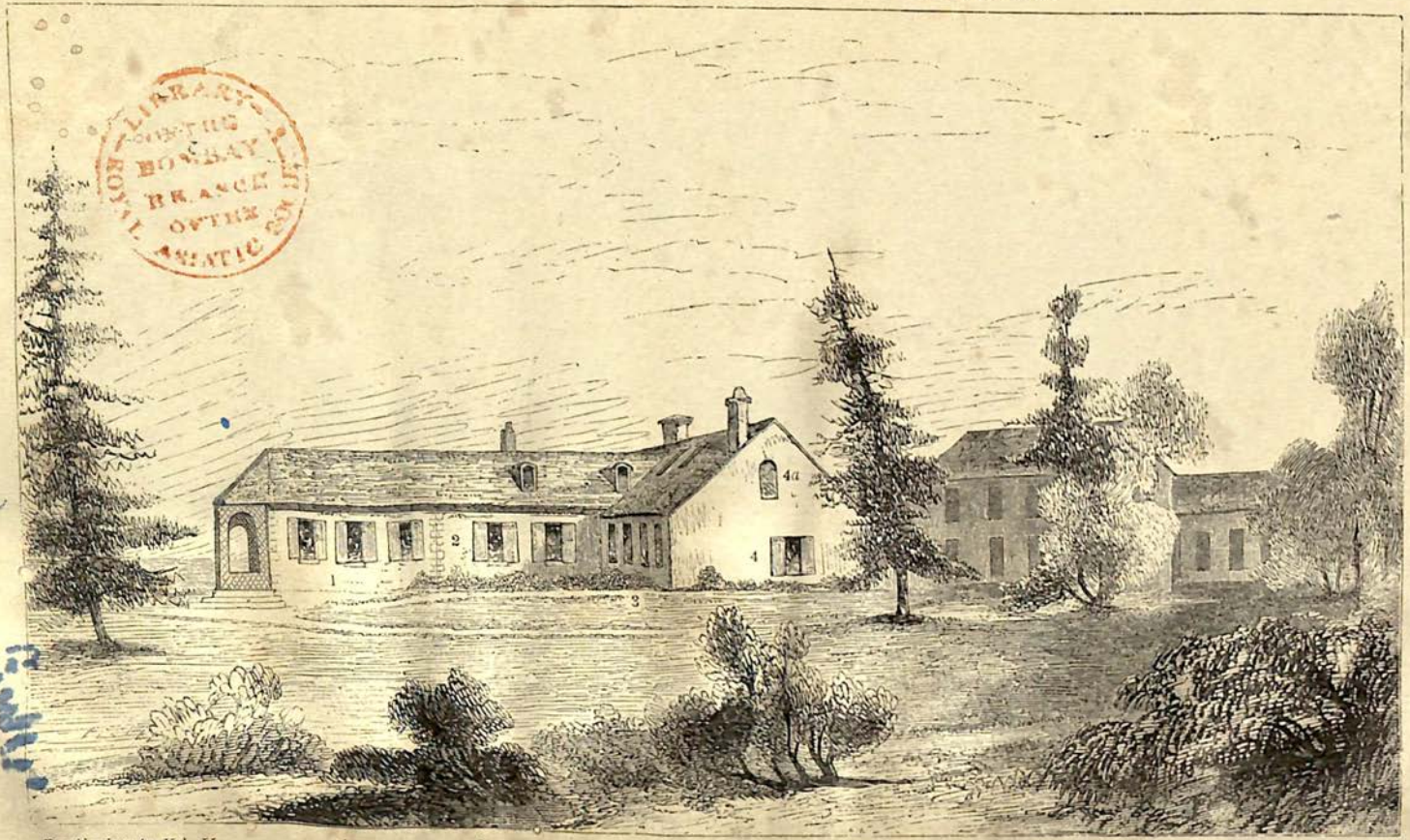
LONGWOOD, FROM A SKETCH BY LIEUT.-COLONEL BASIL JACKSON.



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Frontispiece to Vol. II.

1. Billiard-room.
2. Drawing-room.
3. Bed-room.
4. Bath.
4*a*. MARCHAND, Valet-de-Chambre.
5. Offices.
6. Gen. GOURGAUD.
7. Orderly Officer.
8. Mr. O'MEARA.

HISTORY

OF

THE CAPTIVITY OF NAPOLEON

AT ST. HELENA;

FROM THE LETTERS AND JOURNALS

OF THE LATE

LIEUT.-GEN. SIR HUDSON LOWE,

AND

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS NOT BEFORE MADE PUBLIC.

By WILLIAM FORSYTH, M.A.,

AUTHOR OF 'HORTENSIUS' AND 'HISTORY OF TRIAL BY JURY.'
LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

With Portrait and Map.

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HISTORY

OF THE

CAPTIVITY OF NAPOLEON.

CHAPTER X.

CORRESPONDENCE AND INTERVIEWS BETWEEN LAS CASES AND THE GOVERNOR—REMOVAL OF LAS CASES FROM SAINT HELENA.

A VOLUMINOUS correspondence now commenced and many interviews took place between Las Cases and Sir Hudson Lowe. The former says in his Journal, referring to this period, that a state of inactivity and passiveness did not agree with the nature of his disposition; and he certainly gave proof of this in the numerous letters which he addressed from Ross Cottage to the Governor, who replied sometimes verbally and sometimes in writing. It will only be necessary to notice the chief points of importance or interest.

Las Cases, in his Journal, conveys the impression that he never received from the Governor the smallest act of accommodation, nor any return for the efforts which he himself made to conciliate him. The injustice of this statement must be evident from what has been already mentioned in the course of the narrative, and, indeed, it appears from his own work;[1] but to prove it beyond the shadow of a

[1] Journal, Dec. 7-9, 1816.

doubt, an extract shall be given from a note written by Dr. Baxter, the Deputy Inspector of Hospitals, to Sir Hudson Lowe, who had desired him to visit Las Cases' son at Ross Cottage, and watch over the state of his health. The note is dated December 12, 1816, and in it Dr. Baxter said,—

"It may not be uninteresting for you to know the manner in which old Las Cases expressed himself relative to you in a short conversation which passed between him and me the last visit I paid his son. He said that, however your actions might be influenced by political motives and circumstances, your conduct towards him since his removal from Longwood had been marked with that politeness and attention which was in every way agreeable to his feelings, and that he saw at present your character in a very different light and through quite another medium than when at Longwood."

On the 11th of December Napoleon wrote a letter to Las Cases, which was delivered *sealed* to Captain Poppleton, who immediately transmitted it to Sir Hudson Lowe; but the latter returned it in the same state to Count Bertrand, with a note informing him that it was contrary to his duty as Governor to permit any communications between Count Las Cases and Longwood under the circumstances in which that person was at present placed, except such as were transmitted open. In his Journal Las Cases says,—

"The Emperor was reclining on his sofa at the moment when the letter was brought back to him with this new obstacle. He uttered not a word, but, raising his hand over his head, he took the letter, broke the seal, and immediately returned it without even looking

at the person who had presented it."[1] The letter was then forwarded to the Governor for Las Cases, unsealed, and was as follows:[2]—

"My dear Count de Las Cases, "Longwood, Dec. 11, 1816.

"My heart is deeply affected by what you now experience. Torn from me a fortnight ago, you have been ever since closely confined, without the possibility of my receiving any news from you, or sending you any; without having had any communication with any person, either French or English; deprived even of the attendance of a servant of your own choice. Your conduct at St. Helena has been, like the whole of your life, honourable and irreproachable; I have pleasure in giving you this testimony. Your letter to one of your friends in London contains nothing reprehensible; you merely unburden your heart in the bosom of friendship.

"This letter is similar to eight or ten others which you have written to the same person, and which you have sent unsealed. The Governor, having had the indelicacy to pry into the expressions which you confide to friendship, has latterly reproached you with them, threatening to send you out of the island if your letters continued to be the bearers of complaints against him. He has thus violated the first duty of his situation, the first article of his instructions, the first sentiment of honour; he has thus authorised you to seek for means to open your heart to your friends, and inform them of the guilty conduct of this Governor. But you have been very simple; your confidence has been easily beguiled! A pretext was

[1] Journal, Dec. 17-19, 1816.

[2] This letter is printed in the original in Las Cases' 'Journal' (Dec. 1816), and Corréard's 'Recueil,' vol. i. p. 115. And see the Letters and Documents at the end of this volume.

wanting to seize upon your papers: but your letter to your friend in London could not authorize a visit from the police to you; since it contained no plot, no mystery; since it was only the expression of a heart noble and sincere. The illegal and precipitate conduct observed on this occasion bears the stamp of a base feeling of personal animosity. In countries the least civilized, exiles, prisoners, and even criminals, are under the protection of the laws and of the magistrates; those persons who are intrusted with the keeping of them have superior officers in the administration who watch over them. On this rock, the man who makes the most absurd regulations executes them with violence, and transgresses all laws; there is nobody to check the outrages of his passions. The Prince Regent can never be informed of the acts carried on under his name; they have refused to forward my letters to him; they have, in a violent manner, sent back the complaints made by Count Montholon; and Count Bertrand has since been informed that no letters would be received if they continued to be libellous as they had hitherto been. Longwood is surrounded by a mystery which it is sought to render impenetrable, in order to conceal a guilty line of conduct which is calculated to create a suspicion of the most criminal intentions!!! By reports insidiously circulated it is endeavoured to deceive the officers, the travellers, the inhabitants of this island, and even the agents which, it is said, Austria and Russia have sent here. No doubt the English Government is deceived, in like manner, by artful and false representations. They have seized your papers, amongst which they know there were some belonging to me, without the least formality, in the room next to mine, with a ferocious *éclat* and manifestation of joy. I was in-

formed of it a few moments afterwards, and looked from the window, when I saw that they were hurrying you away. A numerous staff was prancing round the house; methought I saw the inhabitants of the Pacific Ocean dancing round the prisoner they are about to devour. Your company was necessary to me. You are the only one that can read, speak, and understand English. How many nights you have watched over me during my illnesses! However, I advise you, and if necessary I order you, to demand of the Governor of this country to send you to the Continent;[1] he cannot refuse, since he has no power over you, but by virtue of the act which you have voluntarily signed. It will be a great source of consolation to me to know that you are on your way to more favoured climes. Once in Europe, whether you proceed to England or return home, endeavour to forget the evils which you have been made to suffer; and boast of the fidelity which you have shown towards me, and of all the affection I feel for you. If you should, some day or other, see my wife and son, embrace them for me; for the last two years I have had no news from them, either directly or indirectly. There is in this country a German botanist, who has been here for the last six months, and who saw them in the gardens of Schoenbrun a few months before his departure. The barbarians have carefully prevented him from coming to give me any news respecting them. In the mean time be comforted, and console my friends. My body, it is true, is exposed to the hatred of my enemies; they omit nothing that can contribute to satisfy their vengeance; they make me

[1] O'Meara, in his letter to Mr. Finlaison of the 29th of December, 1816, says, that Napoleon wrote this not knowing that Las Cases would be allowed to return to Longwood, and thinking that he would be kept *au secret*.

suffer the protracted tortures of a slow death; but Providence is too just to allow these sufferings to last much longer.[1] The insalubrity of this dreadful climate, the want of everything that tends to support life, will soon, I feel, put an end to my existence—the last moments of which will be an opprobrium to the English name; and Europe will one day stigmatize with horror that perfidious and wicked man; all true Englishmen will disown him as a Briton. As there is every reason to suppose that you will not be allowed to come and see me before your departure, receive my embrace and the assurance of my friendship. May you be happy! Yours,

"NAPOLEON."

It must not, however, be imagined that this letter expressed the genuine sentiments of Napoleon, or that he was careful that the statements which it contained were true. It was a mere *ruse* to frighten the Governor and procure the liberation of Las Cases. Count Montholon tells us[2] that on the 3rd of December Napoleon spoke to him of a project by which he would himself attempt to bring Las Cases back to Longwood, and he says,—"I approved of his idea, and he dictated to me the draught of a letter which he would write to Las Cases with the hope that the Governor, on reading it, would become frightened and yield." And, hearing the next day, the 4th, that

[1] In a conversation which Las Cases had with Sir Hudson Lowe on the 17th of December, he spoke of the Emperor as rapidly approaching the grave, and said that "he had used a phrase in his letter which announced the state of his mind, viz. '*la Providence est trop juste*;' that it was one which he never would have allowed any of them to use; he never suffered them to speak in that style, nor was he himself in the habit of using such expressions."—*Major Gorrequer's Minutes in MS.* So that Las Cases thought that a recognition of Providence by Bonaparte was a symptom that his mind was failing!

[2] Récits, vol. i. pp. 449-450.

Count Las Cases was better treated, Napoleon exclaimed,—"You see I was right. M. Lowe is frightened. My system is good. He will end by giving him up to me." Montholon continues, "A message was brought in the evening of the 5th secretly from Count Las Cases: he has the diamond necklace. Sir Hudson Lowe treats him admirably (à merveille); he is almost free. He believes, if the Emperor would authorize him, he could easily effect a reconciliation on the basis of restoring all things as they were in the time of Sir George Cockburn. 'Ha! ha!' said the Emperor, 'I gain ground. Decidedly Sir Hudson Lowe is afraid.'" And again, on the 12th of December, in the course of a conversation between Bonaparte and his officers,—"This Monsieur Lowe," cried the Emperor, "is a cunning wretch; but I have just dictated to Marchand a fine letter for Las Cases; it will terribly embarrass the Governor. Gourgaud, go and fetch it—you will find it on the inkstand—and read it to us."

On that day Sir Hudson Lowe penned a despatch, "private and secret," to Lord Bathurst, in which he said, respecting this letter,—"That it should contain an explosion of vehement abuse against myself I was fully prepared for, and was predetermined no consideration of this kind should prevent my delivering it to Count Las Cases, if it was calculated to administer any consolation to him under the state of separation he was then living in from a person to whom he had been so closely attached. The untruths it contains respecting myself are so blended with matter of a public nature, and cover such deeply-hidden calumnies, and such ignoble, dark insinuations, that I cannot, however, think it right to leave such a document in Count Las Cases' possession, and my present

intention is therefore to show him the contents of it, and to deposit it afterwards in the trunk where his other papers are sealed up, and await your Lordship's instructions on the subject of its further disposal."

He then assured Lord Bathurst that the assertion contained in Bonaparte's letter, that Las Cases had been prevented from communicating tidings of himself, was untrue. He said, with reference to the conversation which had taken place between himself and the Count on the subject,—"At this conversation either Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Thomas Reade or Lieutenant-Colonel Wynyard were [was?] present during the whole of the time, and they can assert the veracity of my relation of it. No prohibition whatever was made of any persons writing. My observation went no further than to notice the different style in which Count Las Cases wrote to that of the other officers. The latter confined their communications to their family concerns or topics of little moment, whereas Count Las Cases' letters always covered some insidious communication regarding their situation in this island, evidently meant to convey false notions regarding it; your Lordship could not fail to have observed this in one of his letters to Lady Clavering, where he speaks of 'instructions cruelles et cruellement exécutées,' and enters at large into their grievances, for the greater part inseparable from their situation in this island, and of which, as being a voluntary resident here, it was not his business to make a subject of public complaint: yet this letter I forwarded, unmoved by the extreme indelicacy of the attempt to make me the instrument of conveying abuse against myself, from the desire of not withholding from your Lordship's knowledge any accusations against me, from whatever source they

might spring. It was to this style of communication I naturally adverted when speaking of Count Las Cases' positive infraction of the rules in other respects, but there was not a single word of prohibition or penalty attached to the continuance of his writing in any way he pleased." And, alluding to the way in which his civilities had been met, he said, "It is the return, however, I have always received where my desire has been to show attention."

It will have been noticed that Napoleon, speaking of Count Las Cases, on the 4th of December, made use of the expression, "He has the diamond necklace." This was a necklace which, he tells us, the Emperor placed in his hands on board the Bellerophon that he might take care of it, and which he constantly wore in a kind of girdle. It had belonged to Hortense, the ex-Queen of Holland. After his arrest he became anxious to restore it to Bonaparte, and, by an adroit trick, which, he tells us, was the only one he ever played the Governor, he contrived to make Sir Hudson Lowe the medium of communication with Longwood respecting it. In a letter to Count Bertrand,[1] *written* on the 6th of December, but not given to Sir Hudson Lowe to forward until many days after, he said,—"In the unfortunate state of penury to which you are all reduced, I should have most ardently wished to leave behind me some of my wife's diamonds—a necklace—the widow's mite! But how shall I venture to offer it?" This letter, Las Cases says, the Governor promised to deliver in person, and it excited the Emperor's atten-

[1] In a postscript added to this letter on the 16th of December Las Cases says,—"P.S. Dec. 16.—This letter has been ready for you some time; it was written at the time I thought I was going to be removed hence." It was, however, not sent until *after* the 16th. See O'Meara's conversation with Bonaparte, *post*, pp. 23-26.

tion; so that, as Count Montholon relates, Las Cases contrived to slip the necklace into Bertrand's hands at their interview previous to his embarkation on the 30th of December.

Sir Hudson Lowe visited Las Cases on the 16th of December, and took with him Napoleon's letter. He told him that on reading it he found it to contain the grossest personal calumnies against himself, blended with violent and unfounded reflections upon the English Government; that if he had been the greatest scoundrel in the world he could not have been treated worse than in the letter; and that, considering its nature, and the caution he had given in his correspondence with General Bertrand, he was perfectly justified in withholding it from him; but he had, notwithstanding, determined on allowing him to peruse it. He said, however, that as it contained violent attacks upon Government, which rendered it an improper letter to leave in the possession of any individual, it was his intention to transmit a copy of it to England, and await the decision of Ministers upon it. The Governor then handed the letter to Count Las Cases, who read it with emotion, and, having finished its perusal, thanked the Governor for the pleasure he had afforded him, and expressed the sense he felt of this mark of attention. He then requested permission to copy certain passages of it, which were, he said, highly gratifying to his feelings, and would afford him the greatest consolation during the rest of his life. They were those which expressed the sentiments of Napoleon towards him, and Count Las Cases pointed them out to the Governor, who said he had no objection, and desired he would mark them with his pencil. He did so, and handed over the letter to his son to take extracts from it.

Major Gorrequer, who was present, has left minutes of the conversation, and from them the following further account is taken:—

"Count Las Cases resumed, saying, he hoped that, since he was placed in the situation he was then in, from the frequent opportunities it had afforded him (the Governor) of personal communication with him, he had found him reasonable and frank in all his proceedings; that, on his part, he felt pleasure in saying he now saw things in a very different light; 'at Longwood one sees things through a veil of blood (*à Longwood on voit les choses à travers un voile de sang*);'[1] this veil had been withdrawn from before his eyes, and he now spoke as a stranger to Longwood, and with all the frankness natural to him. He then proceeded with observations on General Bonaparte's state of mind: 'C'est un vrai malade;' that one irritation had been followed by another, till it had brought him 'au dernier dégoût de la vie.' 'He must be looked upon as a sick man, and great allowances must be made for him; he expresses himself with warmth; he is naturally quick; he has the proudest spirit; we must remember how many years he has been a sovereign, and that he has not been much checked in the use of language; however, he weighs things well, and is very slow in forming a judgment. Be persuaded, M. le Gouverneur, that if you know him, he is a man of the best natural disposition.'[2] The Go-

[1] See 'Voice from St. Helena,' vol. i. p. 241, where O'Meara gives this remarkable expression, but represents it as having been quoted by Sir Hudson Lowe on the 4th of December, twelve days before it was uttered by Las Cases.

[2] The exact words of Las Cases are given by Major Gorrequer in French, and are here subjoined:—"Il faudrait le considérer comme un malade; on devrait lui passer beaucoup de choses; il s'exprime avec chaleur; il est

vernor thereupon remarked that on the only two occasions where General Bonaparte had been at all calm in conversation with him he had found him much more reasonable than the officers of his suite. Count Las Cases said, 'I admit it; we were all more easily irritated, more ready to believe evil, than he was; but he is not of a character to allow himself to be led by others; he judges for himself.'[1] . . . . . The Governor said he was disposed to do everything for the amelioration of General Bonaparte's situation, and to confine the restrictions to as few points as possible; but must observe that there were some points that could not be touched upon, and those were—measures to ensure his personal security, and no communication except authorized by him; and invited Count Las Cases to draw out some memoranda of the amendments he might be able to suggest, and he would consider of them. The Count appeared to assent to this, and agreed that the personal security was the first and great object, and that the Governor was right to have recourse to all necessary measures to ensure it, but was at a loss as to what was meant by authorized communication. The Governor therefore said he would give him an instance of what he considered an unauthorized communication: for example, when officers obtained a pass to go to Longwood for

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naturellement vif; c'est l'âme la plus fière; il faut se souvenir combien d'années il a été souverain, et qu'il n'a pas été beaucoup gêné du côté des paroles; cependant il pèse bien les choses, et est très lent à former un jugement: il n'y a personne qui écoute mieux raison que lui, mais on l'a dénaturé. Soyez persuadé, Monsieur le Gouverneur, si vous le connaissiez, c'est l'homme du meilleur naturel."

[1] "Je l'avoue, nous étions tous beaucoup plus faciles à irriter, plus prompts à croire le mal, que lui; mais il n'est pas d'un caractère à se laisser mener; il juge pour lui-même."

the purpose of visiting General Bonaparte, he little expected Count Las Cases would have taken advantage of that opportunity to show them Count Montholon's letter; that such communication was wholly unauthorized, even though the officers had permission to visit Longwood; and that it had become necessary, even from this circumstance, to establish strict rules in regard to visits and communications, the control of which must rest with the Governor. Count Las Cases acknowledged the truth of the Governor's observation in regard to his communication having been wholly unauthorized. He then asked where was the necessity of withdrawing the permission which Sir George Cockburn had granted for Count Bertrand's passes being admitted to visit the 'Emperor'? The Governor replied, that whilst General Bertrand was living at Hutt's Gate every person might visit him, and obtain passes, without his knowledge, to go to Longwood House; but that now, as he inhabited a house within the inner cordon, he might permit it, because nobody could go to General Bertrand's house without his pass, and no improper person could therefore obtain them. . . . . The Governor expressed how sensible he was of the disagreeable situation they were in, but they made it worse than it really was, and when he wished to make it better they opposed it; and, to prove this last remark, said he would advert to a letter of Count Las Cases, written to Lady Clavering, in which he complained of want of furniture, though at the very time this letter was sent to him to forward to her he was actually crowding furniture of all sorts into Longwood House; and was the facility he afforded them to correspond with their friends to be thus made the instrument of unjust reflections upon himself? Count Las Cases replied,

this letter must have been written before the furniture was sent up; the Governor contradicted this, and said it was precisely at the time the furniture was carrying up the complaint was made. The Count said, that as for his rooms, they had never been furnished. The Governor answered that this was because he had always rejected all offers of the kind; but Count Las Cases asserted he had never refused receiving furniture, though he had made it a rule to himself never to ask for any."[1]

On the following day, the 17th, Las Cases wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe, and informed him of the alarming illness of his son, saying that at Longwood a medical officer would be found on the spot to have recourse to. The Governor in consequence immediately paid him a visit, accompanied by Major Gorrequer. He told Las Cases that he had directed a medical officer forthwith to call and see his son,[2] and expressed his great concern

[1] Of course it did not suit Las Cases' purpose to give a fair and full account of this conversation, and he merely mentions that Napoleon's letter was communicated to him, and that he was allowed to make some extracts from it.

[2] With respect to the health of Count Las Cases and his son, considering the remarks that have been made to the prejudice of Sir Hudson Lowe, it is important to observe what Dr. Baxter and O'Meara reported to him about this time on the subject. The former says,—"The Count, about ten days ago, complained to me of a slight bowel complaint, which went off in a day or two; being of so trifling a nature, that I did not deem it necessary to give him any medicine. To-day he complains of indigestion, giddiness, and occasional acid eructations. These are complaints which he informs me he was subject to both in England and at Longwood. The influence of an agitated state of mind upon a feeble and irritable habit will readily account for the present accession of a complaint to which he has been long subject, and under all circumstances. His abode at Ross Cottage, since his removal from Longwood, taken unconnected with his mental feelings, has had no share in this slight indisposition, nor do I think this climate unfavourable to his health. His son, who is about fifteen years of age, has for the last twelve months been subject to attacks of disease of a very alarming nature, arising, to all appearance, from an organic affection of the heart, or large blood-vessels in its vicinity. The attacks are sudden,

that he had not another house ready for his reception, but said that one was preparing as fast as possible. To this Las Cases answered that he was sensible of Sir Hudson's attention, and had no complaint to make on that point. The Governor then told him that, in consequence of his last letter, taking into account the state of his own and his son's health, and under the

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and generally continue from half an hour to two hours; and upon one occasion, his father informs me, the fit lasted the greater part of a night. . . . . The appearance of this boy is florid and remarkably healthy; and, with the exception of these attacks, he is, generally speaking, free from inconvenience, unless he attempts to ascend a declivity or to run, when he is seized with a sensation as if something was about to burst. This complaint is in no way connected with this climate, and would have been produced equally in the most temperate; nor is he likely to derive any benefit from a change."

On the 24th of December O'Meara made a long medical report on the nature of young Las Cases' complaint, and said that the formidable appearances might possibly arise merely from a nervous affection, but very probably their cause was organic disease of the heart. In the latter case, he said, "life may be prolonged for some time, by great regularity of living, abstinence, and quiet; to which may be added, avoiding any causes which might ruffle or disturb the mind; towards the obtaining of which last object, a removal to another part of the globe—Europe, for example—would perhaps be serviceable; but nothing more than palliations can be employed for a disease which necessarily terminates fatally, and which is not the production of any particular climate, but originates in malconformation prior to birth. Upon a review of the whole, as there is a possibility of the complaint being a nervous one, I would recommend the removal of the young gentleman to Europe." O'Meara afterwards added, "I think it necessary to state also that I have no sort of doubt the sedentary occupations of reading and writing, in which the young gentleman was almost constantly occupied at Longwood by his father's direction, notwithstanding the highly injurious tendency of them had been frequently pointed out to him, and their repetition positively prohibited, and particularly the anxiety and dread inseparable from the nature of the epistolary correspondence in which he was latterly engaged, must have most considerably aggravated his son's complaint."

Count Emmanuel de Las Cases, the son, is still living. When the author was in Paris at the beginning of the present year he read in the 'Constitutionnel' of Jan. 3, 1853, the following paragraph:—"L'Empereur a nommé trente-sept sénateurs—M. de las Cases—dont le nom rappelle un si admirable dévouement, à côté du Prince Lucien Bonaparte. . . . ."

impression that such a step would be gratifying to General Bonaparte, he would allow them both to go back to Longwood until final instructions were received from England, provided the Count would write him a letter on the subject.[1] To this, says Major Gorrequer, "Count Las Cases replied, the Governor had misunderstood him if he conceived he meant by his letter to solicit for his return to Longwood. With regard to the expression that at Longwood a medical person would be found upon the spot, he only meant to show the difference of his present situation, where he was at so great a distance from any assistance of that kind, and the length of time it would take to procure it. Could not he be removed to some other place where it could be immediately obtained? However, in answer to the Governor's offer, he would frankly say, his first determination was not to return to Longwood; that the impression upon his mind was, he ought not to go back; that he was still influenced by the same feelings, and thought he would continue in the same disposition; that it was, however, a subject that required consideration, and he would not at that moment positively say what would be his final determination; that if the Emperor made known to him the slightest wish for his return, he would immediately go back; his will was his law, and he would waive all personal considerations; that, if the Governor permitted him, he would address a letter to the Emperor stating to him his reasons for thinking he ought not to return to Longwood, and conclude it by requesting to know his wishes, which he would conform to without comment."

This, however, Sir Hudson Lowe at first refused to

[1] Major Gorrequer's MS. Minutes.

allow, on the ground that it was making him the channel of the vilest calumnies against himself, as appeared from the letter written by Bonaparte to the Count. The latter expressed a strong desire to be sent to England,[1] but Major Gorrequer says, "The Governor replied, that to permit him to return direct to England was entirely against his instructions, and it was therefore useless to talk about it; that under any circumstance his orders were to send them to the Cape of Good Hope, even in the instance of any of them having chosen to leave the island when it was left to their choice; that in keeping him at St. Helena after his separation from the person at Longwood, he thought he had adopted that course which would prove the most agreeable to him, for that he had no alternative than that of sending him to the Cape without his papers, for the latter could not be sent from hence without directions from Government; therefore, in sending him to the Cape without them, he conceived it would have been making his situation more disagreeable. The Governor then asked whether in so doing he had correctly judged what would have been his choice of the two offers, for if he had not he was at liberty to go there still. Count Las Cases answered, that he certainly preferred awaiting at St. Helena the decision of Ministers with his papers, than going to the Cape, leaving the papers at St. Helena. . . . . The Count spoke again upon the advantage of a mutual explanation between the Governor and General Bonaparte, adding, how much would be

[1] On the 4th of December the Count wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe, and said,—"As the laws authorize me to, do so, in order that I may obtain their full and entire protection, I demand of you, officially and formally, to remove me from St. Helena, and restore me to liberty."—*Recueil*, vol. i. p. 383.

gained by it on both sides, and, if he should ever return to Longwood, he would be found anything else than a cause of irritation; that he now spoke and saw things as a stranger to Longwood; that many circumstances appeared to him in a very different light than whilst he was there; that the same good might result to others by proper explanation, and the 'crêpe sanglant qui est étendu sur Longwood' (bloody veil which is extended over Longwood) might thus be removed. He then said he acknowledged with pleasure the attention he had experienced from the Governor since he was in his present situation."

After quitting Ross Cottage, and proceeding some distance, the Governor, having further considered the subject of permitting Las Cases to write to Bonaparte respecting his going back to Longwood, returned to Ross Cottage, and told the Count that, although the permission he had given for a communication with General Bonaparte had been most grossly abused, and the letter sent had been made the vehicle of the most opprobrious expressions against himself, he had nevertheless ridden back to inform him he might write to General Bonaparte as he had proposed, but he requested he would avoid every subject that might promote discussion or prolong communication, and simply confine himself to the question of his returning to Longwood. Count Las Cases replied, that he would candidly say he remained in the same way of thinking, and that the argument of his letter would be against going back to Longwood; he would, however, submit all his reasons against it to the Emperor, and act as he appeared to wish. The Governor answered, as he had made him the offer of returning to Longwood, partly on account of his son's health and his own, any evil consequences that might ensue from his rejection of it

would be entirely attributable to himself, and that he would wash his hands of every ill that might follow from his non-acceptance of it. He then returned to Plantation House.[1]

The obvious reluctance of Las Cases to return to Longwood could not but excite surprise. In a postscript to his letter to Count Bertrand on the 16th of December,[2] from which an extract relative to the diamond necklace has been already quoted, he had said, "To-day the Governor, in giving me permission to send it to you, informs me that I am to wait here until answers shall have arrived from England. Thus I shall be for months together at St. Helena, and Longwood will not exist for me; a new species of torment which I had not thought of!" This letter, with its postscript, was not sent until *after* he knew that it was in his own option to return to Longwood. And when Sir Hudson Lowe reached home he wrote to him, and reminded him of this expression, pointing out that now, when offered to be allowed to return, he expressed strong disinclination to do so.

Las Cases, however, evaded any explanation of this inconsistency.[3] On the following day he sent a letter

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[1] Major Gorrequer's MS. Minutes.

[2] Vide p. 9, *ante*.

[3] In Napoleon's letter to Las Cases he had said, "However, I advise you, and, in case of necessity, I order you, to demand of the Governor of this country to *send you to the Continent*;" and Las Cases tells us in his Journal that the chief satisfaction he derived from this letter was that it pointed out the course which he had previously determined on adopting. He continues, "'I *entreat* you, and, in *case of urgency*, I *command* you, to quit this island,' said the Emperor; and this was exactly what I had resolved to do during the first days of my seclusion, while separated from all, and having no counsellor but myself." He also says, with reference to the conversation on the 17th detailed above,—"In the course of a long conversation I could very well discern that Sir Hudson Lowe had now some secret object in view with respect to me. We reciprocally sounded each other on various points, and the Governor concluded by

to the Governor, which related chiefly to the claim made by Napoleon to the possession of his Journal. He said,—

"You are exercising over me an *arbitrary act*. I call upon you to observe the laws. If I am not guilty, send me away. If I am, deliver me up to justice, and let me take my trial. But you mention papers which you have in your possession. If these papers are unconnected with the matter in question, restore them to me; if they are connected with it, consign them to my judges and me along with them. But these papers, you tell me, are claimed by another individual. I shall renounce them whenever you may make me acquainted with his wish; or probably that individual will relinquish his claim whenever you make him acquainted with mine. The whole business is reduced to these simple questions. However, the great object of my letter is to request that you will be pleased to convey to Longwood a new proof of my respect for the Emperor. As to writing to Longwood myself respecting the favour of returning thither as you suggested, I shall wait until I have the honour of seeing you again before I make up my mind on the subject."

Finding that Las Cases was not willing to return to Longwood to await the decision of the English Government respecting him, Sir Hudson Lowe determined to send him to the Cape of Good Hope, and

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observing that he could not send me back to England, because I insisted on carrying my Journal along with me, while on the other hand it was claimed by the Emperor, as it had been written by his order. The cunning and absurdity of this reasoning were sufficiently obvious. Then, as if seized by a sudden thought and a momentary feeling of condescension, he added that, if I wished to return to Longwood, he would very willingly agree to it. I trembled to hear this." Why did he tremble?

communicated this resolution to him in the following notice :—

" Plantation House, December 20, 1816.

"The Governor, having taken into full consideration all the circumstances in the case of Count Las Cases, has adopted the following decision :—Count Las Cases, having committed a direct and premeditated violation of the rules established by the authority of the British Government on this island respecting General Bonaparte, by seducing the fidelity of an inhabitant of the island, so far as to render him the bearer, in a culpable and disguised manner, of secret and clandestine communications to Europe, and having thus broken through one of the indispensable conditions on which he signed his voluntary declaration to be permitted to reside at St. Helena, has in consequence thereof been separated from the person of General Bonaparte, and, in conformity to the instructions of the British Government, will be embarked for the Cape of Good Hope. Count Las Cases will be permitted to take with him all his effects and papers, with the exception of such of the latter as may relate to General Bonaparte since he has been under the authority of the British Government, and of such correspondence as may not have passed through the regular channel of British authorities. Any papers of a disputed nature will await here the directions of the British Government regarding them.

"H. LOWE."

At the same time, however, he wrote and sent to Las Cases the following letter :—

" Sir, " Plantation House, December 20, 1816.

"In communicating to you the decision contained in the enclosed paper, I beg leave at the same time to

acquaint you that I shall have no objection, as already verbally communicated to you, to your remaining on this island, if you should prefer remaining here to proceeding to the Cape of Good Hope, until I may receive instructions from the British Government respecting you. I shall feel it necessary, however, in such case, to request a written declaration of your desire to me to that effect, pledging yourself to the observance of the same restrictions under which you have been hitherto permitted to reside here. It will thus, Sir, remain entirely at your own option to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, or to remain here, with your papers under seal, until the instructions of Government may arrive. I have the honour, &c.

"H. LOWE."

Las Cases answered this letter, and wrote also a letter to Bertrand, which he sent to the Governor, that he might peruse and forward it, but Sir Hudson Lowe refused to communicate it in its original state, and returned it to Las Cases with the objectionable passages underlined in pencil. He at the same time wrote to the Count and told him that the state of his son's health and his own, and a wish to pay attention to Bonaparte, had induced him to make the offer of allowing his return to Longwood. "I cannot, however," said Sir Hudson, "consent to be the medium of any discussion or negotiation whatever between you and Longwood regarding it. The only communication I can suffer is to ascertain whether your presence back on the footing attached to your further residence on this island, as expressed in my letter of yesterday, is desired. A communication on this point, with a short summary of the question in general, is all I can undertake to forward. The permission to return implies a

free explanation on all points. If you do not return, I see only irritation and inconvenience as likely to result to all parties by making myself the channel of lengthened communications on the subject."

It will be interesting now to see what was going on at Longwood at this time, and the view which Napoleon took of the question of Las Cases' return. An account of this will be found in the following letter addressed by O'Meara to Sir Hudson Lowe, and dated Longwood, December 21, 1816:—

"Dear Sir,

"I have the honour of informing you of the conversation which took place between General Bonaparte and myself respecting the permission which had been granted to Count de Las Cases to return to Longwood, provided it was his (Las Cases') wish to do so. When I told him that you had given permission to Count Las Cases to return to Longwood if he thought proper until an answer would be received from England respecting his fate, he appeared very much astonished, looked at me with an air evidently denoting incredulity, and said, 'It is impossible (caro questo é impossible), for I have, not many hours back, received a letter of his addressed to Bertrand, in which he states that he has been refused *that*, and complains of it as a hardship; you must be mistaken.' I replied that I was not; that I was certain of it, as Las Cases *himself* had said so. He appeared still surprised and incredulous, and would not believe it for some time, made me repeat my words several times, got up off of his sofa, walked about, asked me if I was sure that Las Cases had said so, if I had heard him myself, and finally appeared with great difficulty convinced of it. He then said that in consequence of Las Cases' letter

he had ordered Bertrand to write a very strong letter of complaints, and in it to demand that all the French Generals should be sent off the island, as there was no security or guarantee for their persons or property, as the Governor whenever he liked might order them to be arrested, seize upon their papers, and keep them in confinement as long as he liked without giving them a trial. He was at first very well pleased that Las Cases was allowed to come back, and said that it was just and right; that in this there was no reason to complain (in questo non c'e niente a lamentarsi); that he would be very glad to see him back again; would have great pleasure in receiving him; that he thought it would be much better for him to return to Longwood than to go to the Cape to wait for the decision of the British Government, unless, said he, that he would be permitted to go to Europe direct; if not, it would be much better to remain here amongst his friends than to go to the Cape amongst strangers. He continued his walk, mused for some time; and said, 'I do not know how I can advise him to return when I have given just now directions to Bertrand to write a letter to the Governor demanding permission for *all* of them to go away, for when they are gone I will be more independent; I will not be any longer apprehensive of vengeance being wreaked upon them for what I say; those people are all afraid of being sent off the island. *I*,' continued he, with a smile, 'am not afraid of that. They are all trembling with fear of this Governor, one for his wife, another for his family, another for himself.' Here he sent for Bertrand, and told him what I had informed him about Las Cases; informed him that he need not go on with the letter for the present, and took from him what he had already written. After this he walked about for

a considerable time and got rather warm, repeating all the circumstances that had occurred since Las Cases' arrest, and concluded with saying that he would give no opinion about it; that if Las Cases returned he would receive him with pleasure; if he went away he would also view that with pleasure, but would wish to see him before he went. He desired me to come in the morning to hear his opinion after he had slept upon it. The following morning he expressed himself in a similar manner that he would leave Las Cases entirely to his own decision. After I left Plantation House yesterday, and copied the words expressed in your letter to Las Cases, I waited upon him, and informed him that Las Cases, notwithstanding his having been informed by you that he was at liberty to return again to Longwood, there to await the final decision of the Government on his case, previous to sending the letter to Count Bertrand two or three days past, in which he complained that such liberty had been denied him, and called it 'supplice nouveau,' which he had not calculated upon, and notwithstanding your having sent an orderly to him with his own letter, and another from you, in which you pointed out the propriety of altering that phrase, as it would be the means of producing an accession of irritation without cause, had still persisted in sending the letter containing such a statement, though he knew that what he complained of as being a new punishment would not exist any longer than he (Las Cases) thought proper himself to allow, and that by speaking a word he could remove it, and that you thought Las Cases had used you very unfairly and unhandsomely in persisting in such a statement. I then showed him the copy of what you had written to Las Cases on the occasion, which he took and read himself. He ap-

peared surprised at this, and said that Las Cases had written the letter prior to being informed that he might return. I replied that he had certainly, but that afterwards he had been informed of it, and ought to have altered it. He answered that you informed me that he had liberty to return. He admitted, however, that Las Cases ought to have made an alteration in it. He then said that he had not received any official intelligence that Las Cases had received such permission to return; indeed, on the contrary, that the only letter received on the subject said that he had not; 'and,' continued he, 'if you had not told me that you had heard Las Cases himself say so, I should not believe it. If he has leave, why does he not come here to speak to us? If he gives him leave to return, of course he has no fear of whatever correspondence he may have with us, and why not let him come, or let Bertrand go and see him, instead of keeping him "au secret"? I would like to see a letter from Las Cases himself, stating that he had leave to return.' He desired me to mention this to you, and that he wished either to see Las Cases, or that Bertrand might be allowed to go to him. Shortly after he spoke about Archambaud's having been refused leave to see his brother, who, probably, he would never have another opportunity of embracing, which, he said, was a refinement in cruelty unknown in condemned cells; that if there was any apprehension of correspondence it would be easy to send somebody with him who spoke French, which would prevent such taking place, and added that he intended making this one of the subjects of complaint in his letter to the Prince Regent. I have the honour, &c.

"B. E. O'MEARA."

On the 22nd the Governor visited Las Cases, who

gives us the following account of what occurred:[1]—He says, "I coolly informed him that, since he had taken upon himself to dictate to me, I would not write at all. At this he appeared greatly surprised and much disconcerted; and after some reflection he went so far as to inquire whether the corrections he had made were the only obstacles that deterred me. This unusual condescension on his part was a sufficient guide for me; I therefore continued firm, and cut the matter short by observing that in the evening he should receive from me my irrevocable determination, and the reasons on which it was grounded, together with my remarks on the different letters which he had addressed to me."

Major Gorrequer, however, was as usual present at the conversation; and he has left in his minutes a full account of what passed. He says that the Governor inquired of Las Cases "what would be his decision as to returning to Longwood; he answered, he had determined upon not writing there on the subject of it. The Governor asked what his motives might be for not writing—was it in consequence of his having refused to transmit his letters to Longwood? Count Las Cases, on first replying to this question, seemed to found his objection upon that ground; but on the Governor's requesting further explanation (of the answer he had given) he withdrew from that, turning it off by saying that the letter which he was preparing for the Governor would explain his reasons; that he recurred to the motives he had detailed in his first letter. The Governor then explained why he had not sent Count Las Cases' letters to Longwood; by so doing it would have been making himself the instru-

[1] Journal, Dec. 22, 1816.

ment of a negotiation on the subject. The Count said he himself saw it was a measure likely to be attended with great difficulty, and did not expect it would be acquiesced in. The Governor then observed, that if he had in the course of their communication made use of any expression which could have hurt his feelings, it was not intentionally, it was very far from his wish to say anything that might wound them. The word 'seducing,' which he had used in his declaration, was adopted by him in its legal sense, and he thought was the least likely to hurt him of any other he could have found to convey his meaning—conceiving that to corrupt or bribe (the only other expressions he could adopt) were more likely to wound; and to show him how much he wished to avoid it, he had in my presence, and that of Colonel Wynyard, erased some words which he thought might, perhaps, be offensive to his feelings, and had substituted others in his opinion less so. Count Las Cases answered, he certainly had felt much hurt at the term; for to constitute seduction it was necessary to use persuasion—to overcome repugnance—even perhaps to bribe to the commission of the act; but in this case he had recourse to no argument whatever—offered no bribe; that the man had tendered his services; he never made an effort to gain him, and never in his life had attempted to seduce anybody; 'Je suis vierge dans ces affaires;' that he was, however, much satisfied at the Governor's explanation of the word, and in consequence of it would erase a part of the letter he was writing to him, in which he commented upon that expression. Count Las Cases again repeated the man offered his services, adding, he told him that on the delivery of the letters he would get five louis, and had he succeeded he would have given him much

more. The Governor replied, Scott denied having offered his services to him; on which the Count retracted the word *offered*, and explained he meant to say the man had made no difficulty or opposition. It was not his intention or wish by saying this to justify himself, for he conceived any prisoner had a right to employ all the means in his power to communicate, or even to effect his escape. Count Las Cases then begged that the moment the Governor had decided on his case he would inform him, and remove him from where he was, for every minute he remained became years of misery. The Governor said he had done everything in his power to get him another house, but he found it impossible sooner to procure one; now, however, workmen were employed in preparing one; that he wished to have had him in the neighbourhood of Plantation House, where he would be near to all kind of assistance. The Count answered, the Governor was mistaken if he thought he complained on that account; on the contrary, he did him every justice on that head, and was very sensible of his personal attention to him, but that the removal he solicited was from the island. . . . . Whether he sent him to the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn, or any other place, he begged it might be soon; that to quit this island was what he demanded; 'les hommes aiment à changer de demeure;' it was necessary besides for his son's health and his own; dwelt upon the bad state of the former, who was obliged to pass his nights in an upright posture, feeling nearly suffocated when he laid down, and said he himself was sinking under the weakly state of his own; 'à chaque moment je me sens éteindre;' staying here was only living in the midst of torments. Where was the object of his remaining here now that he was not to go back to Long-

wood? 'n'étant plus là, je ne suis d'aucun usage dans cette île.' He then launched out into some reflections on the 'horrible rock;' that living here was torment enough for anybody, without being a prisoner; not even the Governor's situation could be an agreeable one. . . . . Count Las Cases then requested an inventory to be taken of all his papers, and that they might be all arranged and put under seal. The Governor acquiesced with respect to the inventory being taken, but made him no reply as to the papers being sealed. Count Las Cases observed the papers would then remain sealed, and could not be opened again without his being present. The Governor said he did not know that—he could not answer for that. The Count replied, that papers once sealed were never opened again, except in the presence of those whose seals were affixed to them. . . . . The Governor said that the Count had frequently reflected upon him for retaining the Journal, as if it was in consequence of those parts in it which were personal to him; but if that really was the case, would he not have availed himself of his offer of correcting whatever he could convince him was erroneous—which he might easily have proved to him, and thus removed what might be offensive to him? He would add that he certainly did not feel indifferent about statements which were so unfounded and injurious to his character, but that, however, was not the cause for retaining it; in so doing he acted upon public grounds."

Las Cases the same day addressed and sent to the Governor the letter which he had promised, and which will be found at the end of the volume.[1] Sir Hudson Lowe now determined to call upon

[1] See the Letters and Documents.

Count Bertrand and inform him of what had taken place respecting Count Las Cases, and he went on the 23rd to Longwood, accompanied by Major Gorrequer and Colonel Wynyard. He entered into a full explanation of the proposal he had made to Las Cases, and said that his refusal to forward to Longwood letters which that person had written "was not from any disinclination to their seeing them, but because he did not wish to become the instrument of irritation and interminable discussion; that he would have no objection to showing Count Bertrand the whole of Count Las Cases' letters, accompanied by his own arguments (which he however had not yet found time to write out), but that by sending them without it would be giving countenance and sanction to his representations, the greater part of which was totally unfounded; it would in fact be offering himself to the judgment of others with only one side of the question before them. After he had made his own remarks in refutation of Count Las Cases' he would willingly show the whole of the letters and observations upon them at Longwood, when a fair view of both sides of the subject would be thus exhibited; that was the course he intended to follow in rendering an account of it to Government. . . . . The Governor added, he had a great many conferences with Count Las Cases, and in other respects had found him reasonable; and, again adverting to Count Las Cases' refusing to return to Longwood, said to Count Bertrand, 'Qu'en pensez-vous vous-même?' that, to convince him of his sincerity in making the offer, he was ready to allow him to come back immediately if he desired it, and that General Bonaparte expressed his wish to the same effect; that he had reason to think it would be agreeable to the latter, and it appeared nothing but

the expression of his wish for the return of Count Las Cases was wanting to call him back; it therefore could not be said the Governor had prevented it, but, on the contrary, it must be owned he afforded every facility. Count Bertrand replied, he would make a faithful report of what the Governor had stated to him to the Emperor, but did not give any opinion upon it; he merely said he could not anticipate what the Emperor's sentiments might be; that he could easily conceive Count Las Cases desirous of making him acquainted with his arguments and anxious for his opinion, so that it might not apear his refusal to return to Longwood proceeded from caprice when left to his own choice, though he could not conceive why he should not himself have exposed his reasons; he concurred with the Governor that he could not be expected to become the 'intermédiaire' of Count Las Cases' arguments, unaccompanied by his own observations; and fully acknowledged his belief of the Governor's sincerity on the occasion. The Governor expressed his hope that General Bertrand would do him the justice to state, if any irritation or unpleasant circumstance took place in consequence, that he had anticipated it and wished to avoid the cause. Count Bertrand soon after broke out into a very warm and vehement declamation on the position of Count Las Cases. . . . . The Governor turned off the conversation to another topic, saying, that whenever he had heard of any change which might be made for the amelioration of General Bonaparte's situation it had always been his wish to adopt it if it was in his power; that he had long since written to Government on the subject of an extension of the limits for his rides; and having understood some of the sentries posted round the grounds caused him some inconve-

nience, he would in consequence remove them to some other post; that he would always continue to address persons desiring to visit at Longwood, in the first instance, to General Bertrand. The regulations respecting visitors not communicating with persons of General Bonaparte's family appearing not to be clearly understood, he would explain that there was no objection to any or the whole of them being present on the occasion of visitors being presented to him; but the object was to prevent communication of a nature which ought not to take place *before* or *after* presentation to General Bonaparte—for instance, such as had been the case when Count Las Cases took some officers who had gone up to Longwood to pay their respects to General Bonaparte into his rooms, and read them Count Montholon's letters. But in the instance of Sir Thomas and Lady Strange, they had called both on Count and Countess Bertrand as well as on Count and Countess Montholon, and that through both a desire of paying their respects to General Bonaparte had been expressed, but no answer was returned. To these observations Count Bertrand made no reply, preserving the coolest silence. The Governor offered to insert in the margin of the regulations an explanation respecting visitors not communicating with the persons of General Bonaparte's family before or after presentation."[1]

After leaving Longwood Sir Hudson Lowe visited Las Cases, and said that he called upon him "for the purpose of informing him that he was perfectly ready to send not only the letter he had written to Count Bertrand, but the whole of the letters he had written to himself also. Count Las Cases thanked the Go-

[1] Major Gorrequer's MS. Minutes.

vernor for the offer he made him, 'But it is useless. I have cast the die of my own lot. I have pronounced sentence upon myself; destiny has closed her shears; your offer can in no respect change my resolution; as for the rest, I thank you and am infinitely obliged to you; I have taken my part; my fate is decreed; it is a sentence which I have passed upon myself, and my decision is irrevocable.' He then adverted to the state of his health and that of his son, that a change was necessary. 'I grow weaker every moment; my hours glide away; I cannot exist here; I even think that my life must end in a few days.' The Governor said, 'Monsieur le Comte, you will do me the justice to write to Longwood the proposal which I make you.' He answered, 'Yes, certainly; I acknowledge it as an act of the greatest sincerity. You will permit me also, I hope, to write a letter to Longwood to make my adieus,'[1] to which the Governor assented. Count Las Cases then asked when it was likely there would be a ship ready to sail for the Cape. The Governor answered he believed there would be one soon; there was a transport in the roads; and again stated there had been no opportunity for that place since his removal from Longwood. The Count inquired if there would be a medical man on board; the Governor said

[1] Major Gorrequer has reported in French the words actually used by the Count. They are as follows:—"Mais c'est inutile; j'ai jeté mon sort; j'ai prononcé mon propre jugement; la Parque a fermé ses ciseaux; votre offre ne peut en rien changer ma résolution; au reste, je vous remercie et vous en suis infiniment obligé; j'ai pris mon parti; mon sort est arrêté; c'est un jugement que j'ai porté sur moi-même, et ma décision est irrévocable. Je m'affaible à chaque instant; mes heures s'écoulent; je ne peux pas exister ici; il me semble même que ça doit finir sous peu de jours." The Governor said, 'Monsieur le Comte, vous me ferez la justice d'écrire à Longwood l'offre que je vous fais." He answered, "Oui, certainement; je la reconnais comme un acte de la plus grande sincérité: vous me permettrez aussi, j'espère, d'écrire une lettre à Longwood pour faire mes adieux."

there was none on board the transport. Count Las Cases concluded by saying, 'Whatever is your decision, M. le Gouverneur, I earnestly pray of you to remove me from this island as speedily as possible.'"[1]

Sir Hudson Lowe immediately wrote to Count Bertrand and informed him of Las Cases' final decision. Next day the latter represented to the Governor his own indisposition, and the dangerous illness of his son, and entreated that they might be removed into James Town, which request was at once complied with.

On the 26th Sir Hudson Lowe received a long letter from Count Bertrand, remonstrating against his sending Las Cases to the Cape instead of to England, and intimating a desire on the part of Bonaparte to see him before he quitted the island. To this he replied next day that the request caused him considerable embarrassment, "being compelled (such is the very pointed nature of my instructions in regard to com-

[1] With this minute of Major Gorrequer compare Las Cases' narrative of the same conversation:—"The Governor was very much vexed by my determination of not returning to Longwood, though I could not exactly guess the motive. However, my resolution was fully confirmed on the following day, when he came to me, and, after a long and very obscure preamble respecting his sincerity and good intentions, he told me that, to give me a proof of them, and to facilitate my communication with Longwood, he would consent to forward my first letter to Count Bertrand in the form in which I had myself written it, and, moreover, to send along with it a copy of all my correspondence—a thing which he had hitherto constantly refused to do. But the more he made concessions the more I remained firm. 'Tis too late,' said I; 'the die is cast. I have pronounced sentence upon myself. I will not write to Longwood, and I demand for the hundredth time that you will remove me from hence without delay.' 'At least, then,' said the Governor, 'will you communicate to Longwood my offers and your refusal?' 'Yes, I will do so.' He then departed very much disconcerted, mentioning as a last inducement that he could only send us away on board a transport; that he did not know when the vessel might sail, and that there was no medical man on board, which might be a serious inconvenience, considering the state of my son's health."—*Journal*, Dec. 23, 1816.

munication) to decline giving my acquiescence to the proposed interview; or requesting that General Bonaparte would condescend to suffer an officer to be present when it takes place.[1] I have mentioned to Count Las Cases the desire that has been expressed to see him. He manifested a correspondent feeling, but appeared fully sensible of the obstacles opposed by his actual situation, and did not urge me on the subject."

Before writing this letter the Governor had seen Las Cases on the 27th, and had a long conversation with him, when Las Cases said that he thought the voyage (to the Cape) might be serviceable to him, as he was subject to sea-sickness, which might relieve him. He therefore begged that he might be removed from the island with the least possible delay, and, on being told that the ship in which he was to embark for the Cape would be ready to sail in two days, he said, "Would it not be possible to go sooner?" Sir Hudson Lowe then acquainted him with Bertrand's letter, and informed him "that General Bonaparte had expressed his wish through General Bertrand of seeing him before he embarked. The Count, much agitated, exclaimed, 'Ah! que je le désirerais bien aussi.' The Governor added, it was too great a responsibility, and he could not charge himself with it. Count Las Cases bowed as if convinced, and did not urge the matter, or indeed say anything more on the subject."[2]

On the 29th the Governor informed Bertrand that Las Cases would embark on that day, and he received

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[1] In Count Montholon's 'Récits,' vol. i. p. 468, no notice whatever is taken of this conditional consent. The reader is left to infer that the Governor's refusal to permit the interview was absolute.

[2] Major Gorrequer's MS. Minutes.

from him in reply a letter full, as usual, of complaints.[1] It referred to the regulations of the 9th of October, and enclosed some remarks upon them dictated by Napoleon.[2] The Count said, "It can only reflect dishonour upon your nation and yourself to oppress a great man whose sufferings are shared by so many thousands." He concluded by reiterating the demand (*la demande*) that Las Cases should be allowed to take leave of the Emperor.

Sir Hudson wrote in answer,—

"In reply to the letter which you have addressed to me this day, so far as relates to the demand it contains of Count Las Cases being permitted to take leave of General Bonaparte, I beg to acquaint you that I have not the most distant objection to Count Las Cases proceeding immediately to Longwood for the purpose above mentioned, a British officer being present, as expressed in my letter of the 27th instant. As an act of personal attention to General Bonaparte, I should be most happy to allow the interview to take place in any other manner that might be more gratifying to him; but I have too high a sense of the moral responsibility of my office to incur the risk of sacrificing public duty to any private consideration whatever. The circumstance under which Count Las Cases was separated from Longwood is entirely different from that of a voluntary departure."

In the evening Count Bertrand called on the Governor, and, after some conversation—in which the Count said, that as to Las Cases taking leave of the Emperor in presence of a British officer, it was a thing to which he would not consent, even if it was for the

[1] The letter is given at length at the end of the volume.

[2] See these remarks and the Governor's observations, vol. i. pp. 466-475.

sake of seeing his wife or child—he accompanied the Governor, Sir Thomas Reade, and Major Gorrequer to the Government House in the town (the Castle), where Las Cases and his son then were. Major Gorrequer has given in his Minutes an account of the interview:—

"Count Bertrand embraced both the Las Cases on their entrance; and taking the father's hand, which he continued pressing in his own for some time without speaking, he broke silence by saying, 'Eh bien, Las Cases, vous allez donc partir?' The other replied, he had expected to have been on board before, but was happy the delay had afforded him an opportunity of seeing him previous to his embarking. He then asked how the Emperor was—'Quelles nouvelles m'en apportez-vous?' Count Bertrand answered he had been very unwell, but was better that day; that he had left him just going into the bath; that at parting he had charged him to express all his affection and good wishes for him, and assure him he might always reckon on the same feelings wherever he went."

In the letter which Las Cases had written to Bertrand on the 6th of December he had said,—

"I have often made the offer of the 4000 louis which I possess in England at my disposal; that offer I now again renew; my position, whatever it be, cannot produce any alteration in my intention. I shall henceforward be proud to be in want!"

Count Bertrand did not forget the proposal at this juncture, and said, "Las Cases, you have offered the Emperor in one of your letters 4000 *louis;* tell me frankly, can you spare them? would it be any inconvenience to you to part with so much money?" He answered, on the contrary, it was rendering him happy

by accepting it; he had always wished to devote it thus; he had ventured to make the offer in the hope that it would be accepted. The money was in England, and they could draw upon him for it. Count Bertrand said, since he put it at their disposition, he begged of him to let him have thirteen bills of exchange of 300 louis each, the first to be made payable in March next, and the last in April, 1818, and begged he would get some merchant (Mr. Balcombe, for instance) to have them drawn out regularly and in sets; that they were to be made payable to him (Count Bertrand) or his order. This money would serve them to pay salaries and for various other expenses.[1]

Las Cases afterwards took a letter from his pocket, and put it into the hands of Major Gorrequer, saying it was for the Governor, but he had intended not to deliver it till the moment of his departure. Sir Hudson Lowe had in the mean time gone into another room, and the Major took the letter to him. He read it and then returned to Las Cases to ask for an explanation on the subject of some papers referred to in it. Las Cases then delivered a packet of papers to Major Gorrequer, requesting him to put it into the hands of Sir George Bingham, in order that it might be opened by him, and two copies taken, the one to be sent to the Governor and the other to Longwood; but he begged that the original might remain in Sir George's hands until he should claim it. Sir Hudson Lowe observed that there might be something in the

[1] In an official letter to Earl Bathurst, dated Dec. 30, 1816, Sir Hudson Lowe said, with reference to this request, "Count Las Cases, to prove the sincerity of his offer, immediately assented; the demand, however, appeared unexpected." Lord Bathurst was so struck with the impropriety of Napoleon taking this large sum from his devoted follower, that on hearing of the circumstance he wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe, and begged him, if possible, to stop the negotiation of the bills. See p. 182, *post*.

papers which would lead to discussion or might produce irritation; to which Las Cases answered there was not, and declared his conviction that it might prove useful to all parties.

"Soon afterwards," says Major Gorrequer, "Count Bertrand retired with the Governor to an adjoining room, where they remained in conversation for some time. When General Bertrand returned to Count Las Cases he took the latter by the hand and continued for some time silent, apparently intent on considering of something to say to Count Las Cases. He at last said, 'It is late; why embark this evening? It would be better to pass to-night on shore, and I will come and see you to-morrow morning.' Count Las Cases appeared averse to this at first, saying that all his things were sent on board, that there were not even beds left for him to sleep upon, and it would be better for him to go on board then. Count Bertrand replied, 'Oh, but that may be arranged; I will go to Longwood and will speak to the Emperor, and will let you know to-morrow what he says to me.' Count Las Cases then said in that case he would with pleasure stay; the expectation of hearing of the Emperor again would make him pass that night, at all events, agreeably. Count Bertrand now asked him, 'Would you not like to give me for the Emperor some explanation about your position?' to which the Count replied, the details would be too long to enter upon, it would require a long time to put him in possession of them. 'But why go?' resumed General Bertrand; 'where is the difficulty of remaining and returning to Longwood?' Count Las Cases answered, 'There is great difficulty and great inconvenience. I am resolute because I believe it ought to be so, and I believe I have done what I ought.' 'But if, however, the Em-

peror desired you to stay?' answered Count Bertrand. 'I should stay,' said Count Las Cases, 'because that would be a law to me.'"[1]

The packet intrusted to Major Gorrequer for Sir George Bingham contained the celebrated letter of Las Cases to Sir Hudson Lowe, dated December 19, 1816, which was transmitted by the Governor to Lord Bathurst, with numerous remarks of his own, at the end of February following.[2] In his despatch of the 26th of that month he said,—

"Your Lordship will possess in this document a complete view of my whole proceedings since first landing on this island, written with perfect freedom by the person at the time of his being here most in the confidence of General Bonaparte, viewed through the medium of his or the writer's feelings, and exhibiting, as I think it will appear, under the most unfavourable view that a very high degree of art, eloquence, and plausibility can possibily display, every circumstance that can be brought forward by them against me. I have replied to his remarks with

[1] The reader may be curious to see the account which Las Cases gives of the cause of his eagerness to get away. He says,—"It was now late in the evening, and, as our final arrangements were not yet completed, the Governor postponed our departure until the next morning. As he saw that I was vexed at this, to console me he said he would permit the Grand Marshal to visit me again. However happy I might be at the thought of embracing again a companion of Longwood, and receiving further news of the Emperor, yet I was nevertheless greatly distressed by this delay, which prolonged the conflict of my mind and lacerated my wounds — ['il prolongeait ma tempête intérieure et remuait mes plaies']. — There are victories which can only be obtained by flight; the victory I was pursuing was one of this kind!"—*Journal*, Dec. 29, 1816. It is difficult to understand to what *victories* the Count here alludes. The fact is indisputable that he quitted St. Helena in spite of the remonstrance of Count Bertrand, and *with the full knowledge that his stay would be gratifying to Napoleon.*

[2] See the letter and Sir Hudson Lowe's notes at the end of the volume.

the same freedom that he has addressed me; but if I think it necessary to send any answer to the individual himself, or to deliver a copy of his letter to me to Count Bertrand for General Bonaparte's information, I shall probably extend it to greater length by reference to many circumstances not spoken of by them, particularly the rude, repulsive, and arrogant conduct I have myself to complain of, but which in communication to your Lordship I have thought it unnecessary to introduce, as they must have been all known by my previous correspondence. The writer's object at the conclusion appears conciliatory, and this justice I wish not to withhold from him."

And in another letter, sent at the same time, Sir Hudson Lowe thus spoke of Las Cases and his son:—

"His letters and protests to me have led me to address your Lordship very fully regarding him, considering him to be a person of exceeding insidious character, capable of every fanatic effort for the furtherance of his views, with depth, talents, or cunning enough to hide the means from almost every eye. His son has nearly recovered. Dr. Barry, a physician who has acquired great celebrity at the Cape, decided that his complaint arose from excessive writing and sitting for such long periods in a contracted posture at his table. Of this Count Las Cases had received repeated warnings from Dr. O'Meara. Your Lordship will have observed the obloquy of inhumanity with which Count Las Cases attempted to charge my character by not paying more attention to his representations on account of his son, whom he described to me as almost *expiring in his arms*, and yet at this moment he was incessantly employing him in the occupation that his medical adviser had so strongly

pronounced against. The long letter that goes by this occasion was written by his son, with all the others of which I forwarded copies to your Lordship at the time, whilst he was at the same moment collecting fresh materials for his Journal."

The sloop of war the Griffon, which was to convey Las Cases and his son to the Cape, did not sail until the following day, the 30th; and early in the morning Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm introduced Captain Wright, the commander of the vessel. Count Bertrand also called, and had another interview with Las Cases, at which the Governor, Major Gorrequer, and other officers were present. After some conversation on different matters Bertrand inquired about the bills of exchange (spoken of in the conversation of the preceding day), and asked if they were ready, as he had an acquittance to give him for them from the Emperor. They were brought in and delivered to Bertrand by young Las Cases. There were thirteen for 300*l.* each, and Bertrand handed over to Las Cases Bonaparte's receipt for the amount.[1]

In his letter to Mr. Finlaison, of the 29th of December, already quoted, O'Meara says,—

"I have little more to say than that Las Cases and son embarked on board of the Griffon sloop for the Cape this day, notwithstanding every offer was made on the part of Sir Hudson to allow Las Cases to return to Longwood to await the decision of the English Government respecting his fate, and that *Bonaparte himself*[2] (notwithstanding a letter which he wrote to him some time before ordering him to demand per-

[1] Major Gorrequer's MS. Minutes.

[2] The words in italics were underlined by O'Meara himself.

mission to go to England or Europe, not knowing at the moment he wrote it that he would be permitted to return to Longwood, but thinking that he would be detained *au secret* in the island) desired me to tell him that he thought it would be better for him to return to Longwood amongst his friends than to go to the Cape amongst strangers, which I executed with Sir Hudson's permission. Bertrand saw him yesterday (in the presence of a British officer), and again to-day will be permitted to see him. Bonaparte wished to have him allowed to come up to Longwood to take leave, which, however, would not be granted unless he was accompanied by a British officer, which Bonaparte would not consent to."

Count Las Cases, in his Journal, has described his embarkation, and it is worth while to notice the way in which he there speaks of acts of attention and kindness, which at the time he was happy to accept:—

"All business being now settled between us, Sir Hudson Lowe, by a characteristic turn of behaviour, which he had oftener than once exhibited since I had been his prisoner, either from motives of civility or calculation, immediately wrote for me several letters of introduction to his private friends at the Cape, who he assured me would prove very agreeable to me.[1] I had not the courage to refuse these letters, such was the sincerity with which they appeared to be offered.

[1] This act is thus described in the 'Recueil,' vol. xii. p. 38:—"He," Sir Hudson Lowe, "even gave him letters of introduction to influential persons at that place; but the traitor, we are assured, at the moment when he was showing these apparent marks of interest for M. Las Cases, was making the frightful proposition that, as soon as he arrived in the colony, he should be *thrown into irons, and that he should rot there.*"

At length the long-looked-for moment of departure arrived. The Governor accompanied me to the gate, and ordered all his officers to attend me to the place of embarkation: this, he said, was intended as a mark of respect. I eagerly jumped into the boat which was in readiness to receive me."[1]

It is due to the memory of Sir Hudson Lowe to quote here an extract from the letter which he wrote to Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor of the Cape, when he sent Las Cases to that colony. It will be seen that the provocation he had received did not prevent him from doing justice to the Count's merits, and that he was generous in his praise of the better qualities of one who had spared no abuse and invective against himself. He said,—

"I should not omit to add, Count Las Cases is a man of considerable talents, of high literary attainments—exceedingly specious, eloquent, and insinuating—is, or affects to be, a fanatic admirer, or rather adorer, of Bonaparte—has lived in closer habits of intimacy with him since his arrival on this island than any other person who accompanied him, and has been certainly the most active in keeping up the irritation of his mind against all the measures of the British Government, even repelling ameliorations of his own situation when offered. He had besides infringed the regulations, in different instances, before his last separation. In other respects he is a person of highly polite and gentle manners, and merits the consideration due to him on such account. His most judicious plan, I conceive, would be to remain quiet until Go-

[1] Journal, Dec. 30, 1816.

vernment sends its answers regarding him, and your Lordship's suggestions on this point might, perhaps, have some weight with him."

On the same day on which Las Cases sailed Sir Hudson Lowe made an official report to Earl Bathurst of these proceedings; but as it would involve a repetition of what has been already narrated, it need not be inserted either here or at the end of the volume.

CHAPTER XI.

NAPOLEON RECEIVES A LOCK OF HIS SON'S HAIR — FRUSTRATION OF ATTEMPT TO EFFECT AN ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN HIM AND THE GOVERNOR — OBSERVATIONS BY BONAPARTE ON THE REGULATIONS, AND SIR HUDSON LOWE'S REMARKS — REFUSAL TO TAKE EXERCISE — LETTER FROM O'MEARA TO MR. FINLAISON.

IN order to give a continuous account of all that related to the removal of Las Cases from St. Helena, and to avoid interruption in the course of the narrative, we have deferred mention of several incidents and conversations with Napoleon which occurred in the interval to which we must now revert.

On the 3rd of December Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Earl Bathurst in the private letter already quoted,—

"Another matter has occurred which has attracted my attention almost in an equal degree with the affair of Count Las Cases. The Baron Stürmer, Commissioner of the Emperor of Austria, has addressed a letter to me, enclosing a declaration on the part of a Mr. Welle, who arrived here in his suite, and was presented to me as a botanist travelling by order of his Emperor, with the concurrence of our Government, avowing himself to have been the bearer of a small packet containing a lock of hair, which he received at Vienna, and delivered to Marchand, valet-de-chambre of Napoleon Bonaparte, soon after his arrival here. The declaration does not, however, state two particulars of importance to be known, viz. —

that the person from whom the lock of hair came was nurse to the so-called King of Rome, and that the lock of hair was his. The latter circumstance I have been enabled to ascertain, through a second person, from the authority of Napoleon Bonaparte himself. It is, perhaps, of little importance that a father should receive a lock of hair from his child—and few would dispute, even to Napoleon Bonaparte, this consolation—it is but the indirect mode in which it was brought that excites remark. I can myself regard it in no other light than as an attempt to open an unauthorised channel for confidential and secret communication. I have not yet replied to Baron Stürmer, who has not avowed his previous knowledge of the matter, and affects to treat it with great lightness, but I shall be enabled to transmit the whole correspondence to your Lordship by the next occasion, as well as that which led to it. Your Lordship will judge from this circumstance of the real obstacles to the granting General Bonaparte a greater degree of personal liberty and more freedom of communication than he at present possesses, and I cannot avoid considering the residence of the Commissioners as the principal hinderance to the enlargement of either. Hitherto they have not seen him, but it is the difficulties he has thrown in their way they have to complain of, and of none on my side."

No doubt every mind that possesses a spark of right feeling would revolt at the idea of Napoleon being debarred from receiving a lock of his child's hair, or any message relative to one who must have been so dear to him. It is, indeed, one of the most affecting incidents of his captivity, that he was necessarily separated for ever from that son of such proud

and lofty hopes; but it is remarkable how seldom he alluded to the subject. We need not, however, suppose that this arose from insensibility. He *must* have felt more than he ever expressed; but the natural reserve of his character prevented him from betraying emotions which were not called forth by some immediately exciting cause. Nor, on the other hand, can we blame Sir Hudson Lowe for censuring the want of candour and openness in Mr. Welle, who ought to have informed him from whom the packet came, although it is difficult to see any reason why he should have mentioned whose hair it was that he was commissioned to deliver to Napoleon, or why the Governor should have attached any importance to the circumstance.

In the above letter Sir Hudson Lowe alludes to the presence of the Foreign Commissioners as an obstacle in the way of his wish to enlarge the restrictions to which Bonaparte was subjected, and on the 13th of December he again addressed Earl Bathurst on the subject, saying,—

"The point which it would be most difficult to concede to him would be that of withdrawing the sentries from between the hours of sunset and nine o'clock. It appears to me that leaving his residence without observation between two or three hours that it is perfectly dark, at the commencement of the night, may render nugatory in a great degree the precautions taken for the remaining hours; however, I wish to submit the point to your Lordship's consideration. It is impossible in all cases to combine the perfect security of his person that is enjoined with the regards he looks to. He has very rarely of late stirred out of his room, and the orderly officer has been compelled to put up with

the reports of servants, not to incommode him with a personal visit. I strive in this way to be as little troublesome to him as possible, but wherever I deviate from the letter of my instructions I feel my responsibility to be a very painful one. Much of indulgence, I think, might be shown to him, and without greatly increasing the risk of his evasion, if the Commissioners were not here."[1]

About this time an overture was made by Napoleon for an accommodation with the Governor. On the 7th of December Sir Hudson Lowe received a letter from O'Meara, in which he said,—

"Since you were here last[2] I have had a good deal of conversation with the General. I mentioned to him what you desired me respecting your having increased the allowance one half, upon your own responsibility, without having had any specific authority for doing so, as it appeared that Ministers were responsible to Parliament that the yearly expenditure should not exceed 8000*l.*, and that possibly you might be obliged to refund the sum so increased out of your own pocket. I also told him what you had said about the anthropophagi, and that you were not present at the arrest, and that you were concerned that such a circumstance had taken place, instead of exulting at it as he had supposed.[3] I mentioned also what you had said respecting the French people here wishing to aggrandize

[1] Speaking of the foreign Commissioners, the 'Edinburgh Review' for December, 1816, p. 464, observed,—"The foreign Commissioners had not yet reached St. Helena, whose presence in the island may justly have alarmed Sir Hudson, in more ways than one, for the safety of his prisoner."

[2] O'Meara (*Voice*, vol. i. p. 241) relates a conversation which he had with the Governor on the 4th, and his conversations with Napoleon afterwards (*ibid.*; p. 244 *et seq.*); but those reports differ much from his report of them in this letter.

[3] Vol. i. pp. 380-1, and 'Voice,' vol. i. p. 229.

themselves at his expense; and that *their object* was to make use of him as an instrument to exalt them from their present insignificance, and to get him off the island by any means. I also said that malicious constructions had frequently been put upon your actions, and that *I* thought you were desirous to accommodate and settle matters upon an amicable footing if possible. He replied, 'It is easy for him to do so if he likes—he has the power. I am not Governor. I have no places in my power to grant or favours to give. It is easy for a person who has everything in his power to accommodate matters. A few words will explain it: Che si comporti bene verso de me; or, in other words, let him put things upon the footing they were in the Admiral's time. Let him remove his sentinels until nine o'clock; let him take off his prohibitions not to go off the high road, or to enter a house, or to speak to a lady if I meet her. How if I meet Mrs. Wilton?[1] If she says more to me than "How do you do?" I must give her a slap (*uno schiaffo sul culo*) and tell her to be off. Let him allow no person to be admitted to Longwood without a permission from Bertrand; if he does not like to permit Bertrand to pass every one in, let him make out a list of such persons of the island as he will permit to enter to Bertrand, and let him have permission to pass them in, and to write to such persons as are on the list. In like manner, when strangers come, let him make out a list of such persons as he will permit to enter, and send it to Bertrand, and let him have permission to pass any of them in. Probably I would see very few of them, but still I would wish to have the privilege of doing so if I wished, for it is difficult to distinguish those who come to look at me as they would at an

[1] Wife of one of the officers of the 53rd regiment.

elephant or some other wild beast from those who come with other motives. Let him do this, and put the other restrictions upon the same footing they were in the Admiral's time.' With respect to the limited quantity of articles of food, &c., for the establishment, he said he did not so much care about that, as that might be remedied as long as the *plate* lasted, and perhaps by some other means. 'If he does not choose to treat me like a man che ha giuocato un ruolo nel mondo come ho giucato io (who has played a game in the world such as I have), at least let me be treated like a man, and not worse than a galley-slave or a criminal condemned to death, for even these are not prohibited to speak to the people they see. Let him do this,' said he, 'and I will say that I have been wrong; that I have formed a hasty opinion; that he had acted without consideration through fear of my escaping, but that, when he saw it was not possible, he altered his plans. This is still possible: in a week it might easily be settled.' He spoke a great deal about the restrictions and about the sentinels, about his suite being prohibited to go out after six o'clock. He said that he expected in a short time sentinels would be placed at the doors of the house constantly, and that he was preparing himself for it by not stirring out of his room. He also spoke a great deal about De Las Cases, whom he appeared to wish back again very much, though he always qualified it by saying, 'Provided he was not to be sent away from the island in a few months.' The above is only a very small portion of his conversations, of which I have not altered a word so as either to increase or diminish any acrimonious part of it, as I thought it would most accord with your wishes to give you his words as near as I could recollect them."

On the 23rd Sir Hudson Lowe acquainted Count Bertrand with his intention to alter those parts of the Regulations relating to passes and to sentinels being posted round Longwood House after sunset, which had been most complained of. This was done on the 26th; and the Governor at the same time expressed to Count Bertrand his ready willingness to afford an explanation on any other point. The next day O'Meara called at Plantation House with a verbal message from Bonaparte, which, at Sir Hudson Lowe's request, he committed to writing in a letter, in which he said that, in answer to his communication to Bonaparte of the Governor's intention to remove such parts of the restrictions as related to his being interdicted entering into conversation with such persons as he might meet in his limits unless in the presence of a British officer, and also of the Governor's desire to have matters further accommodated as far as was permitted by the nature of his instructions, Napoleon replied, "That he would be very glad to have an accommodation effected; that he desired nothing more than to have matters put on the same footing they were some months past, or nearly equivalent to it, and that he conceived the best method to accomplish the business would be for you to authorise the Admiral to act as an intermediator or negotiator; that by so doing he thought it would be easy to come to a right understanding, and he had but little doubt such might be effected, provided such a preliminary course was adopted; that the Admiral and himself would talk over and reason coolly upon the different matters in question."

O'Meara also added in a postscript, that General Bonaparte desired him to acquaint the Governor that, in consequence of O'Meara having said that he thought Sir Hudson Lowe was very well disposed to have matters

further accommodated, and on account of the suggestion of a mediator, he had ordered General Bertrand not to proceed any further with a letter of complaints which he had previously directed him to write for the purpose of being forwarded to England.[1]

On receiving this letter, Sir Hudson Lowe charged O'Meara to give the following memorandum to Bonaparte :—

"The Governor is not conscious of having ever wilfully given to General Bonaparte any just cause of offence or disagreement. He has seen with pain misunderstandings arise on points where his duty would not allow him to pursue any other course, and which might have been frequently removed by a single word of explanation. Any channel by which he may think such misunderstandings may be removed the Governor is perfectly ready and willing to avail himself of."

On the 28th O'Meara wrote to the Governor and informed him of the manner in which Napoleon had received this communication. He said,—

"I have not had an opportunity of seeing General Bonaparte until about an hour past, as he had a severe headache, which prevented him from sleeping all night. He was then, and is at present, in bed, and is still incommoded by headache. I was apprehensive at first that the opportunity was unfavourable, particularly as he had ordered a warm bath, in which, however, he could not be gratified, as there is no water at Longwood to prepare one, which, of course,

[1] In the 'Voice' (i. 290) O'Meara represents Napoleon to have said on that occasion, "that he did not like to complain. All he wanted was to live; or, in other words, that the restrictions should not be of such a nature as to induce a person to wish for death;" but there is not a word of the kind in the letter from which the extract in the text is taken.

did not contribute to put him in a good humour. However, he seemed very well satisfied when I explained to him what you had directed me to say respecting the proposed interview. He said that he feared his indisposition would render him unfit to speak to Sir Pulteney if he came up this day, and desired me to tell General Bertrand to receive and speak to him concerning the proposed alterations; adding, however, that perhaps in the evening he would be better, and would be able to enter into discussion with him, or, if not, that he would receive him any other day he thought proper to come up."

Almost immediately afterwards Sir Pulteney Malcolm arrived, and went to General Bertrand's, but did not then see Napoleon.

The negotiation was, however, broken off by Sir Hudson Lowe's refusal to allow Count Las Cases to have an interview with Napoleon before his departure, except in the presence of a British officer. Bonaparte was made acquainted with that circumstance by Count Bertrand in the afternoon of the 28th; and in the evening he sent for O'Meara, who, the next day, the 29th, thus related to the Governor what took place:—

"Dear Sir, "Longwood, December 29, 1816.

"When I spoke to the General yesterday about the Admiral's intermediation, he had not been acquainted with your decision respecting the manner in which Las Cases would be permitted to come to Longwood. He sent for me about six o'clock, and I found him in his room along with General Bertrand, looking over the papers which I had brought the night before from you. He was in a great passion, and walked up and down the room very much agitated, and exclaiming against what he called the barbarity of the con-

duct practised towards him in refusing to allow him to receive Las Cases' *adieux*. He appeared almost to doubt that you had signified your readiness to consent to Sir Pulteney's intermediation, as he said he could not reconcile it with the conduct pursued with respect to Las Cases. I translated into French the Memorandum which I had copied at Plantation House, and read it to him. When he heard 'duty would not allow,' he repeated '*Tracasseries—Tarocchevie*,' and said that, when a rope was put about a man's neck to execute him, he that did it performed his duty, but that was no reason that the man who suffered it was to be obliged to him for so doing. He then dictated a short letter to Bertrand, complaining of the impediment thrown in his way of Las Cases' taking leave of him, and saying that it was of a piece with the rest of the conduct pursued towards him, and desiring that his representation on the subject should be made known to the Prince Regent. The letter did not consist of more than four or five lines, but was rather violent.[1] It appears to me very possible that the fears you expressed as to the effect which the circumstance alluded to above might produce are well founded, as there was a great and marked difference in his manner *after* the business had been communicated to him to what he had manifested before. I have, &c.,

"BARRY E. O'MEARA."

It will be observed from this letter that Napoleon knew *on the 28th* of Sir Hudson Lowe's determination not to allow Las Cases to see him before he quitted St. Helena except in the presence of a British officer; but on the following day Count Bertrand wrote to the

[1] This letter was not forwarded.

Governor a letter, in which he pretended that the Emperor was then ignorant of this circumstance.

It seems that O'Meara was made acquainted with the purport of this letter, and, as in his own note written on the morning of the 29th he had informed Sir Hudson Lowe how the fact really was, he became anxious lest a discovery of Bertrand's suppression of the truth should compromise Napoleon as being a party to the deception. Accordingly, when in the afternoon of the same day Bonaparte sent for O'Meara and gave him back the memorandum he had brought from Sir Hudson Lowe, with his own remarks written upon it, the doctor immediately wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe and begged him not to give Count Bertrand any hint that he was aware of his misstatement respecting the facts. He said, "I must beg leave to put you in mind not to give Marshal Bertrand, who I believe purports paying you a visit, any hint whatsoever of such part of the contents of my letter this morning as *are opposite to one* which you received from him; as I find that it has been stated to you that the refusal of allowing Las Cases to come here, unless accompanied, was not communicated yesterday to General Bonaparte, and that General Bertrand either has applied, or will do so, for that purpose."

The observations upon Sir Hudson Lowe's memorandum, dictated by Napoleon, were the following:—

"1. The conduct which has been adopted for six months cannot be justified by a few phrases in the correspondence of a Minister. A long and voluminous ministerial correspondence is an arsenal where there are two-edged weapons.

"2. The last regulations would be considered at Botany Bay as injurious and oppressive. They must,

whatever may be said of them, be contrary to the wish of the English Government, which has approved of the regulations which have been in force up to the month of August last.

"3. All the observations which have been made by Count Bertrand and Count Montholon have been of no avail. A free discussion has been interdicted them by threats."

Upon these observations Sir Hudson Lowe made the following remarks, which, together with his own memorandum and Bonaparte's observations, he communicated to Earl Bathurst in a despatch dated December 30, 1816:[1]—

"Nos. 1 and 2.—General Bonaparte's object in these two remarks seems to be to place Sir Hudson Lowe's conduct in opposition to the instructions he had received, or to make it appear he had gone beyond their letter in the regulations framed upon them. He has only to refer to his letter to Count Bertrand of the 8th of October, and to request it may be compared with the verbal communication he had caused to be made to General Bonaparte through Sir Thomas Reade, and translated by Count Las Cases, as per memorandum transmitted with his letter to Earl Bathurst of the 10th of October. It will be perceived that, in making a written communication, which would be naturally regarded as the rule, he was cautious to keep well within the limits of the verbal one, which, notwithstanding, was a faithful abstract of the instructions he received; and the necessity of which, particularly in regard to the persons who had followed

[1] O'Meara (*Voice*, i. 296, 297) took care not to publish the caution which he besought Sir Hudson Lowe to observe about Count Bertrand. He has printed Napoleon's remarks (i. 296), but *omitted* the Governor's *answers*.

General Bonaparte to this island, his own observation and experience of their general conduct had fully confirmed: it is they who have proved the greatest obstacle to any amelioration of General Bonaparte's own situation. The arrival of the Commissioners, who were not here in Sir George Cockburn's time, has thrown still greater embarrassment in the way. Sir Hudson Lowe is uninformed of any approbation, tacit or direct, having been given by the British Government as to Count Bertrand's passes, or his being permitted to send notes to whom he pleased, and especially to the Commissioners. This and the reduction of the expenses were the principal stumbling-blocks in August—add General Bonaparte's own violent behaviour, and the letter he caused to be written by Count Montholon.

"No. 3.—General Bonaparte here artfully eludes the intermediation of a *British officer*, though proposed by himself, the moment he finds Sir Hudson Lowe accedes to it. His proposition, it is evident, was only a trap to produce acquiescence on the part of Sir Hudson Lowe to his interview with Count Las Cases. All that has passed in letters and communications with the Counts Bertrand and Montholon has been faithfully reported, and witnesses have been always present during conversations."

In the same despatch Sir Hudson said,—

"I told Dr. O'Meara at the time my refusal to admit an interview between General Bonaparte and Count Las Cases except in the presence of an officer would infallibly destroy the effect of any intermediation, and render his own negotiation entirely fruitless. I did not expect, however, so violent a breaking off from the proposition Dr. O'Meara had brought as

was contained in a letter I received from Count Bertrand the second day after, dated the 29th of December. I had declined giving my assent to the interview except accompanied, and Count Bertrand addressed to me in consequence the very paper of complaints with which he had been directed (as will appear by Dr. O'Meara's communication) not to proceed. I received on the same day a French translation of the verbal reply I had authorised Dr. O'Meara to give General Bonaparte to his own proposal, with marginal notes made on it by his directions. The whole of these papers are enclosed, with my own observations upon them."

The Orontes frigate brought back from the Cape of Good Hope, on their passage to Europe, Captain Piontkowski, and Santini, Archambaud, and Rousseau, the three servants who had been dismissed from the Longwood establishment. As some importance has been attached to Piontkowski, the following passage from Sir Hudson Lowe's despatch of the 30th of December, acquainting Lord Bathurst with his return to St. Helena, deserves attention:—

"I will not do General Bonaparte or the officers of his suite the injustice to suppose Captain Piontkowski's falsehoods and impertinences are in any respect countenanced by them; and it will be recollected General Bonaparte himself told Lieutenant-Colonel Sir. Thomas Reade that Piontkowski was merely a soldier of his guard at Elba, and that he knew nothing further of him. He was not admitted to his table or society during his stay here. These particulars may serve for refutation of any importance he may think fit to assume on his arrival in Europe."

And in his private letter to Mr. Finlaison, on the

29th of December, O'Meara, speaking of the proposed reduction of Napoleon's suite, thus expressed himself:—

"Reade also told me that Bertrand was to go to Plantation House to arrange matters with the Governor, and that he had no doubt that, if he was silent and managed matters well, none but domestics would be sent away, except Piontkowski, whose doom was fixed, *and whom, to tell the truth, nobody was displeased to see sent away.*"

Between the 4th and 31st of December O'Meara wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe several letters, which contain information respecting Bonaparte's health, situation, and feelings; but as a great part of what he communicated in them occurs in his printed volume, it will be only necessary to give a few extracts.

On the 4th of December, after explaining the medical treatment which he had prescribed for Napoleon, who had "confined himself very much to his room for several days past, so much so, indeed, that he had not shaved himself for six days," and "complained of having had severe headache during the night, accompanied with a little feverish sensation and want of sleep," he said,—"I also told him that, if he did not alter his mode of living, and take a little exercise instead of shutting himself up in a close unventilated room, he would inevitably have some alarming fit of illness, and that probably very soon. I made use of several strong arguments to induce him to agree to my advice, but, though he acknowledged the justice of what I said, he did not appear in the least inclined to put in practice the exercise I recommended, observing (when I said that he would, in all human probability, have some formidable attack of disease) 'Tanto meglio, più presto si finirà' (so much the

better, the sooner it will end). He was extremely melancholy during the time that I saw him, and he has not been out of his room since."[1]

On the 29th of December O'Meara wrote to his friend Mr. Finlaison the long letter which has been so frequently alluded to, and from which extracts have been already given. In inserting it here, those parts will be omitted which have been previously quoted, and also those which are of no particular interest or do not throw light upon incidents which have been hitherto misunderstood.—

"My dear Sir, "Longwood, December 29, 1816.

"I believe that in my last I mentioned to you that instructions had been sent out to the end that such of Bonaparte's suite as were desirous of remaining with him should sign a paper purporting their willingness to submit to such restrictions as it might be thought necessary to impose upon Napoleon Bonaparte, and that such consent on their part should be drawn out according to a certain written form transmitted to them, and that moreover it should not be accompanied with any comment or remark of theirs. This was accordingly signed by them, with this alteration, namely, that instead of 'Napoleon Bonaparte' they substituted 'l'Empereur Napoléon.' Sir Hudson, however, not acquiescing in this their adherence to the Imperial title, returned the papers, informing them that they must sign according to the form delivered unto them for that purpose, and not otherwise.

[1] A long letter from O'Meara to Sir Hudson Lowe, dated December 16, 1816, will be found at the end of the volume. It contains substantially what has already appeared in O'Meara's 'Voice from St. Helena,' but it may be interesting to compare the two versions of the same conversations and incidents.

The following day also he came up to Longwood and had an interview with each of them individually, during which he endeavoured to persuade them to sign the paper as it was, and to inculcate to them the futility and childishness of still keeping up such a title under the existing circumstances. Notwithstanding this they all refused doing so—I believe, according to directions from Bonaparte himself, who a little before Sir Hudson's arrival at Longwood had sent for me and told me that he had desired them not to sign such a paper; that he knew they would be taken away from him in a few months, and that they might as well go now as then.

"I beg to mention to you that, a few weeks before this, Bonaparte asked me if I thought there was any probability of his being allowed to go to England to reside. To which I replied, that I thought he took very bad measures to effect it; that the only way which he could ever hope to accomplish such an object would be dropping the title of Emperor altogether, and renouncing all appearances and pretensions to Majesty; that, by doing so, and appearing content with the lot of a private person, and forgetting that he ever had been a crowned head, and remaining quietly for some years, perhaps he might be allowed to go to England, there to live under *surveillance*. He looked very serious at this, and said that it had been his intention to have done so; that it was the fault of the English Government, by sending him to such a miserable place as St. Helena, and ill treating him in the manner they had, which made him retain the title of Emperor in opposition to one they wanted to force upon him. 'It is true,' continued he, 'that I have no reason to be ashamed of the title of General Bonaparte, but I will not receive it from them. If

the republic had not legal existence, it had no more right to constitute me General than First Consul, or anything else. The more they want to debase and degrade me, the more I will hold my head up and exalt myself. It was my intention when I went to England to have assumed the name of Colonel Meuron, who was my aide-de-camp, and was killed by my side at the battle of Arcola, and to live as a private person. I did not wish to call myself Bonaparte, Emperor, Napoleon, Duke, Count, or anything else, but plain Colonel Meuron. I have made noise enough in the world already—perhaps more than any other man ever will do—perhaps *too* much. I am getting old, and only want retirement.'

"The next morning (that is to say, the morning after Montholon's dismay) Bonaparte sent for me about half-past six o'clock, and after a little desultory conversation said that the Governor had some conversation yesterday with Bertrand, had said something about the King of France, about who was the rightful heir to the throne of France, about who was his King, and such other *coglionerie:* in fact, said he, that whatever Bertrand had said on the subject, he had nothing to say to; that it might be thought that Bertrand had expressed his (Bonaparte's) sentiments, but that he offered no opinion about it; that he never would meddle with politics again; that he had thought proper to send for me in order to acquaint the Governor with his real sentiments, which he had dictated to St. Denis to write down for that purpose. 'And here,' said he (taking up a piece of paper on which, in his own handwriting, were contained words and meaning similar to one which he afterwards gave me), 'here is what I intend to send, which I have written myself, and of which he is now taking a copy.' He now read

every word of it out aloud, asking me frequently if I perfectly understood him. 'Now,' said he, 'you will take a copy of this, written by St. Denis, to the Governor: give it to him, and inform him that such are my intentions. If he asks you why I have not signed it, you should say that that was unnecessary, because I read it out for you myself from my own handwriting, and explained it, in order that you might testify to it.' He then said, 'They may call me Monsieur Napoléon, but, as that is a name *too* well known, and might recall recollections which perhaps it might be wished should be dropped, he would wish to take one which had no relation with the past; therefore he would like to be called either Colonel Meuron or Baron Duroc.' (He here told me who they were, though I told him I knew well who Duroc was.) 'As Colonel,' continued he, 'is a title denoting military rank, it might give umbrage, and therefore probably it would be better to adopt that of Baron Duroc, which is the lowest feudal title. If the Governor consents to this, let him write or cause to be written to Bertrand that he acquiesces in either of them, and such will be adopted. This will prevent many difficulties, and perhaps smooth the way.' He then said that several months back he had sent Montholon to the Admiral to propose it to him, and that he had promised to write to his Government about it; since which he had heard no more about it. I asked him whether the communication made by Montholon was a verbal or a written one. He replied, stopping and looking at me earnestly, 'What, I suppose you think that Montholon has been telling me lies!' I smiled, and I believe looked as if I thought so. He then said, 'No, no; I assure you it is not the case. He did propose it; it was one or two days before I left the Briars.' He then called

St. Denis, asked him if he had finished the paper, took it from him, made me read it aloud to him, explained some parts which were not very plainly written, underlined some others with his own hand, gave it to me, desired me to go and give it to the Governor, and tell him that such were his intentions. He then said, 'You will not forget the names?' I repeated 'Baron Duroc and Colonel Meuron.' 'Right,' said he; 'or Monsieur Napoléon.' The paper was as follows.[1] . . . .

"The parts underlined as above were, in the paper given by me to the Governor, traced by Bonaparte himself. I proceeded to the Governor with this paper and presented it. He appeared very much surprised, said that it was a very important communication, and required consideration. He afterwards said that he would write home about it, and recommend the adoption of it in the strongest manner; that he would consider attentively whether the tenor of his instructions would permit him to sanction the adoption of either of the names in question; that he would naturally be desirous of deferring the use of either of them in any public communication until he obtained the sanction of his Government for that purpose; and that he would be ready to communicate with Bertrand on the subject at any time. He observed, however, that it would be more satisfactory if it had been signed by him; though, he said, he did not mean to convey the slightest doubt of its authenticity, either as to words or spirit. He gave me a paper containing the substance of this his answer, and desired me to show it to Bonaparte. After this (at my own offer) he made me swear to the paper, a copy of it, and a duplicate of a statement I made out of what Bonaparte had said to me when giving me the paper. He

[1] See vol. i. pp. 348-9.

then said that it would be very advisable to get Bonaparte to sign the paper, and asked me if I thought it likely that he would do so. I replied that I thought he would, if Sir Hudson would authorise him to sign his name as he wished. This, however, Sir Hudson did not find himself yet authorised to decide upon.

"I proceeded back with all haste to Longwood, and, after having made a translation into Italian of the principal points of Sir Hudson's note, I waited upon Bonaparte with it. As soon as he came to the first part of it—viz. that the Governor would lose no time in forwarding to England the paper brought by me—he asked me if I had brought it back. I replied 'No.' He then said that it was not his intention that the paper I had taken should be sent to the British Government; that he only intended it should be read and shown to the Governor, and then returned, as had occurred once before when I brought on a piece of paper some sentiments of the Governor's which I had taken down myself, and which were afterwards returned. I told him that I had conceived and understood that I was to leave the paper, and accordingly had done so. He acknowledged that he had said nothing about bringing it back, but said that he had intended it so; that it would be an insult to the Government to send them a paper unsigned; that he wanted to know whether the Governor was inclined to meet him. After a good deal of discussion he desired me to go to the Governor and get it back from him, and kept the Governor's paper as a *hostage*, I suppose, for its return. I accordingly went back to Plantation House and communicated my business to the Governor, who was naturally much surprised at it, and did not know whether to attribute it to want of sincerity in his professions or otherwise. He de-

sired me to write out a statement of it, which I did, and got the paper back, which I delivered back to Bonaparte the next day, my return to Longwood being at too late an hour to communicate. After delivering it I told him that Sir Hudson was of opinion that any paper professing his wish to adopt a name should be signed by himself. He replied, 'If he takes upon himself to approve of it, and makes the same known to Bertrand, or even to you, and that he will address me accordingly, I will write a letter and sign it myself, declaring that I will adopt one of the names in question, and send it to him. He added, '*Le metà dei disgusti che ho provato* (one half of the disgusts I have experienced) arose from that title.' I told him that I thought he was very right; that people were astonished at his still retaining it after his abdication. He replied, 'I abdicated the throne of France, but not the title of Emperor: I do not call myself Emperor of the French, but the Emperor Napoleon.' Here I mentioned to him that Louis the Eighteenth, when he was in England and other places, did not call himself King; and also that Gustavus King of Sweden, after his abdication, called himself Count Gottorp. He replied, 'I would not call myself Emperor if it was not in opposition to the other title which they want to force upon me: to such it appears that I never was Emperor—as if the French nation had not as much right to make me one as the other. A man, when he is at the head of a few during a disturbance of a country, is called a chief of rebels, a chief of banditti; but when that man succeeds, does great actions, and exalts his country, then, from being called a leader of rebels, he is called general, chief of the nation, or any other title the nation choose to give him. It is only *success* which makes him so: had he

been unfortunate he would have been still called chief of rebels, and perhaps perished on a scaffold. Your nation would not acknowledge Washington for a length of time, but called him a leader of rebels, until his successes obliged you at last both to acknowledge him as a general, and the country he belonged to. So it is everywhere. It would,' continued he, 'appear truly ridiculous in me calling myself Emperor here, circumstanced as I am, and would put one in mind of one in Bethlem, in London, who fancy themselves kings in the midst of their straw and irons, if it was not done in opposition to your Government, who in a manner force me to it. They wish to call me what they like themselves, in order to annoy me, and to make it appear that I have never been anything else than General.' He then said the French generals had shown great devotion in signing such a declaration as they had done, preferring to remain with him under all the restrictions, and against his own will, and also command, to going to Europe, where the most of them could live in splendour. 'They would,' continued he, 'have signed me *Boja Bonaparte*, or the *Tiranno Bonaparte*, or many other opprobrious names, sooner than abandon me.' I replied that I thought, if they were permitted to return to *Europe directly*, instead of going to the Cape, in all probability they would not have been so ready to stay. He said that in two or three months they would probably go to Europe. . . . .

". . . The next morning, while walking down in the wood cogitating upon the occurrences of the preceding day, I heard somebody call me. Turning about, I was surprised to see Bonaparte beckoning to and calling me. After he had asked how I was, he said, 'Ebbene bugiardo sempre questo Governatore. He makes a great noise about this news, which he said he

could communicate to nobody else but me, and, after all, there is nothing more than he might have communicated to Bertrand or anybody else as well as me. No, no; he thought he had an opportunity of insulting and grieving me, which he eagerly embraced. He came up with six of his staff, with exultation and joy in his countenance, just as if he was going to announce a wedding or if he was going to a comedy, rejoicing in the idea of having it in his power to communicate news which he thought must afflict me; he thought to plant a "stilo" in my heart, and could not deny himself personally the pleasure of witnessing and enjoying the affliction which he was preparing to impart to me—un cattivo uomo. Never has he given a greater proof of a bad heart, wishing to afflict and stab me to the heart—a poor man whom misfortunes have placed in his power. I am very glad I did not see him, for there would have been another scena, worse than any of the preceding ones.' . . . 'I advised him strongly to accommodate matters as much as possible, adding that I believed the Governor was inclined to grant that domestics should be sent away instead of the Generals, but that if he was irritated or abused perhaps he might do the contrary. I said as much as I could possibly think would induce him to do so, but in vain. He replied, 'Non c'é rimedio; we are in the power of a *boja* (hangman). I know very well that they will send away the rest by little and little in a short time, and it is just as well for them to go away now as afterwards. What object could they have in sending away that Pole and three servants? bah! they want to leave me without anybody: let them do it; I would rather that they were all sent away at once than to have four or five slaves trembling about me, having constantly hanging over

their heads, *in terrorem*, the dread of being forced on board of a ship and sent off to the Cape, or God knows where, at the discretion of that *boja*. Let him do what he likes, send everybody away, plant sentinels at every door and window, send up nothing but bread and water: I regard it not; I will be and am now just as independent as when I was at the head of 600,000 men, as I told him the other day; this heart is just as free as when I gave laws to Europe. If he sends away those generals to prevent my complaints from being written, I will write myself, which will have much more effect. He wants those people to sign new restrictions without even knowing what they are. No honest man ought to sign any obligation without first knowing what was contained in it; but this *boja* wants them to sign whatever he chooses to impose hereafter, and there as usual, always with lies at command, he will assert that he has changed nothing, as he has already done; truly, he is a disgrace to the human race; *c'est un triste animal;* his conduct, *c'est le comble de la mauvaise foi.*' After a great deal of communication to and from Plantation House the affair was terminated by Piontkowski, Santini, Rousseau, and Archambaud junior being sent off to the Cape. The loss of three of those people was not unproductive of inconvenience to him, as Santini was his tailor and haircutter and gamekeeper, Rousseau a most ingenious artificer, and Archambaud one of his postilions. They were, however, those who could be best spared, and two of them, Rousseau and Santini, he had chosen himself to go when he found that the departure of three was indispensable.

"The new restrictions were as follows. [Here follow the altered regulations already given.][1]

[1] See vol. i. p. 330.

"The day these restrictions were delivered Bertrand came to me in order to explain to him what was meant by the road leading along the ridge; whether it was meant that they should confine themselves altogether to the road, and not go off it, or whether they had liberty to go down in the valleys, as in Sir George Cockburn's time? I replied that I understood it to mean that they were to keep to the road, and not to separate from it, or to descend into the valley either to right or left. On inquiry the next day from Sir Hudson Lowe, I found that my conception of it was correct, and that they were not to go off the road, or go into any houses of the inhabitants.

"Since these new restrictions have been put in force, Bonaparte has never been out on horseback, and not more than two or three times in the carriage. For the last six weeks he has not stirred out of the house, except one evening for about ten minutes, and rarely quits his room, or dines at table with the rest. This confinement has had a visible effect upon his health and appearance; and I have no doubt that if he persists in it his existence will be closed in a few months either by hydrothorax or apoplexy. He has had latterly every appearance of a diminished action in the absorbent system, such as occasional swelling and coldness of the extremities, enlargement of the lymphatic glands in the groin and fore part of the thigh, respiration a little hurried, and a general leucophlegmatic appearance. He experienced also a good deal of despondency and drowsiness at one time; since, however, he complied with my prescription of lessening materially the quantity of animal food consumed by him, and increasing proportionably the vegetable (for he will take no medicine, internally at least; as yet he has never taken anything *medical* beyond a

gargarium, though he had a very severe inflammatory affection of his gums and cheeks), these symptoms have ameliorated, and could he be persuaded to take exercise he would do very well. Whenever I endeavour to induce him to ride out, he always answers me by observing that the prohibition to speak to any person he may meet entirely precludes the possibility of doing so, though he did not acknowledge the right or authority of the Governor in giving such orders, unknown, he says, and unpractised in the dungeons of the Inquisition, or even to criminals under sentence of death, yet still, if he met with and spoke to any person, or they to him, they would be subject to some arbitrary punishment. . . . .

"Bonaparte was greatly astonished at his (Las Cases') arrest, and in the evening sent for me and asked what I knew about it, which was very little. He professed ignorance, however, of it, and said that he could scarce have conceived a man like Las Cases capable of a plot *cosi coglione* as to trust a slave, an ignorant wretch without information or honour, to go on an embassy to England. 'He was ashamed of himself,' continued he, 'or he would have made me acquainted with it.' I asked him if he had not known of it. He replied, 'I knew nothing whatever about it, or I would have immediately stopped it. I recollect, indeed, that, eight days back, Las Cases said to me, speaking about his servant, that he was going to England; I recollect laughing at him, and saying that, if the Governor hears he intends going there, he will send him to Ceylon; he will be much more likely to go there than to England.' He then asked me again if I knew what the subject of the letter or letters was. I replied in the negative. He then said (it was well known at this time that Scott was to have

gone to England, or at least that he was destined for it by Las Cases), 'I think it must be some letter to *Miledi*[1] containing complaints and satires of the Governor, containing probably an account of how we are treated and of all the vexations we labour [under], or perhaps one to his banker; for Las Cases has four or five thousand pounds in a banker's hands in London, a part or the whole of which I was to have had, was to pay him hereafter, as I do not know where my own money is. In all probability there was a letter to his banker, and that he did not like to let it go through this Governor's hands, for none of us like to trust him. I am sure there is nothing of consequence, as Las Cases is too much attached to me to undertake anything of moment without consulting me. I entirely disapprove of the manner, *cosi coglione*, that he has made use of, and can only account for it by supposing that Las Cases, as he has lost his eyesight nearly and can scarcely read or write, and since his son's illness the latter having been prohibited reading or writing, the poor man is wholly without employment or amusement, and this, together with reflecting upon the melancholy situation of his son, condemned, I may say, to die of an incurable malady, with his own confinement and sad reflection upon the state we are in, together with the badness of the accommodation, for you know he was very badly lodged' (this was his own fault, however, on being offered to have a new house built for him, which he refused), 'has turned his head and rendered him mad, or else he would not have been guilty of such an act of folly. For a man of some talent like him to make an *ambassador* of a slave, who could neither read nor write, to go on a six months' embassy

[1] Lady Clavering. See vol. i. p. 383.

to England, where he never had been or knew nobody, and, who, in fact, unless the Governor was a coglione and scioccone, would never be permitted to leave the island, is to me wholly incomprehensible, unless a man had lost his senses. I am sorry for it, because people will accuse me of being privy to it, and must have a mean opinion of my understanding, supposing me to have concerted a plan *cosi coglione e semplice*. . . . What guarantee have I,' continued he, 'that he (the Governor) will not come up when I have nearly finished my History, and seize upon the whole of it? I must burn all I have written. It served me as an amusement in this dismal abode, and might perhaps have been interesting; but now I will burn the whole, for with this *boja* there is no security or guarantee. He surrounded the house with his staff, quite happy at the idea of tormenting us. Il me parut voir les Anthropophages des îles de la Mer de Midi, qui dansent autour de leurs victimes avant de les dévorer. Tell him this,' said he, 'tell him these words.' I used every persuasion in my power to induce him to refrain from destroying his papers, and also went to Sir Hudson, whom I informed of Bonaparte's intention, and suggested the propriety of returning his papers as speedily as possible. Sir Hudson assured me that not a single paper belonging to him had been read by any person; that as soon as Las Cases declared such or such a paper belongs to him (General Bonaparte) it was immediately put by and respected; that after each examination the whole of the papers were sealed up by Las Cases himself, put in a trunk, which was also sealed up by him, and not opened again unless in his (Las Cases') presence. He also made me observe myself Las Cases' sealing up the papers, that I might testify to Bonaparte that

I had personally inspected it. He desired me to tell him that all his own papers should be kept sacred; that he conceived the work he was engaged in of too great importance to posterity to permit his being disturbed in the execution of it by any part of it being seized. I returned back and told Bonaparte what I had seen, which gave him a considerable degree of satisfaction, but which did not last for many days, as, the papers having been returned to him by degrees, he immediately took it into his head again that they were returned according as they were *copied*. I had again great difficulty in persuading him to the contrary, and of convincing him that they were all deposited in a trunk sealed up by Las Cases after examination, and not opened again unless in his presence. A letter also from young Las Cases, containing an assurance that the papers hid would be respected, contributed to pacify him a little upon this score. *The fact really was so* that his papers had *not* been examined, but it would have been better and would have prevented a great deal of irritation on his part if they had been returned during the first two or three days; but the anxiety in which Sir Hudson was constantly immersed prevented his attending to what he considered as of no consequence, to wit, the papers belonging to him being searched for and returned.

"As the Orontes is reported to sail in a few hours, I fear I will not be able to give you any more minute details upon this subject; suffice it, then, to say that the letters given to the slave consisted of one to Lucien Bonaparte, giving a *highly coloured* detail of everything which had occurred since they had embarked on board of the Bellerophon, divers complaints of the miseries of their situation and of the rigorous treatment they suffered from Sir Hudson; and the

other a letter to Lady Clavering in London, with a request, I believe, to forward the other. Amongst his papers also were found two or three others, the nature of which I know no more of than that I believe they were intended to open and carry on some correspondence between the French people and some persons in London; that in them there were means provided for making things known to them by certain paragraphs inserted in the newspapers, if they could not be able to effect sending letters. . . . .

"I have been for a considerable time endeavouring to effect an accommodation between him and Sir Hudson Lowe, and have so far succeeded as to obtain both their consents to allow Sir Pulteney to act as an intermediator, though I confess I have not very sanguine hopes of his succeeding. I must confess that I am one of those who think that a great deal of unnecessary rigour has been practised towards him, as you may yourself conceive from the nature of the restrictions, and I know that such is the opinion of every officer on the island *except Sir Hudson's personal staff.* Sir Hudson himself, indeed, appears to be conscious of it, as within *a few days* he has taken away his prohibition against speaking, removed some of the sentinels, and rescinded his order about persons not being able to make use of the same pass to speak to any of his staff, and allow them to hold converse with him. Bonaparte asks that things should be put on the same footing *they were in Sir George Cockburn's time.* Few, I believe, will doubt Sir George Cockburn's capacity and capability of placing him in as secure a position as any Governor would desire. In fact he was then just as secure as he is now, and was not tormented with unnecessary, frivolous, and annoying restrictions.

"Sir Hudson has repeated again to me his prohibition

of communication, doing which he observed that *none* of the *Ministers* had any business to know what was going on about Bonaparte, *except the one with whom he corresponded*, and that such correspondence should go through him and *him alone*, adding that he had written to Lord Bathurst to acquaint him that I had been in the habit of corresponding with you, and that I had furnished you with every information respecting Bonaparte, in order that he might take steps to prevent the same, adjoining [adding ?], however, that he had done it in such a manner as not to do me any mischief.

"By this you will be able to judge how requisite it must be not to make known to his Lordship that I still am a channel of communication; though it appears a little strange and unaccountable to me that Sir Hudson should be so dreadfully alarmed at the idea of *His Majesty's Ministers* being made acquainted with the truth of what occurs with respect to a man who has made so much noise in the world, while at the same time he sends Piontkowski and three others to disseminate not only the truth, but gross exaggerations blended with it, through all Europe. Until I came to Saint Helena I never was aware that the Ministers were not to be put in possession of whatever might regard state prisoners."

It will be perceived that in the latter part of this letter O'Meara says that he is one of those who think that "a great deal of unnecessary rigour" had been practised towards Napoleon. This is, I believe, the first time in which, in any part of his correspondence, he speaks unfavourably of the measures of Sir Hudson Lowe, and the date is important when we recollect that in his published work he describes the conduct of the Governor as having been almost from the first moment

of his arrival, tyrannical and oppressive. And in support of the charge of "unnecessary rigour" he relies wholly upon the nature of the restrictions to which he refers his correspondent, Mr. Finlaison, and which he describes as frivolous and annoying. No other ground of complaint is even hinted at, and we may therefore fairly conclude that in O'Meara's opinion none such at that time existed. Whether or not the restrictions as framed by Sir Hudson Lowe were unnecessarily severe is a matter on which we are competent to form our own judgment, and it is satisfactory to find that this is the only point on which, up to this period, the man who showed himself afterwards the bitterest enemy of the Governor expresses anything like censure. Nor must it be lost sight of that the passage occurs in that part of his letter where the writer displays some feeling of irritation against Sir Hudson Lowe on a personal ground, because the latter had very properly cautioned him against carrying on a clandestine correspondence, not only without, but against, his consent.

But it was idle in O'Meara to represent Sir Hudson Lowe as alarmed at the idea of Ministers knowing all that related to his illustrious prisoner, inasmuch as he regularly transmitted to the Colonial Secretary, Earl Bathurst, every conversation and incident respecting him that was communicated either by O'Meara or any other person. This appears to have been always done with the most scrupulous fidelity. But what the Governor did object to was, that secret information, of which he was kept ignorant, should be forwarded by a person in the confidential position of O'Meara, for the use of Ministers.

CHAPTER XII.

CONVERSATION BETWEEN SIR PULTENEY MALCOLM AND NAPOLEON — COMPLAINTS OF THE QUALITY OF THE PROVISIONS AT LONGWOOD — NAPOLEON'S PLAN FOR A FRENCH INVASION OF ENGLAND — LETTERS OF SIR HUDSON LOWE TO EARL BATHURST — HIS COMMENTS ON LAS CASES' PROTEST — CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN NAPOLEON AND O'MEARA.

ON the 1st of January, 1817, Sir Hudson Lowe transmitted to Earl Bathurst O'Meara's communications of the preceding month, and at the same time wrote to his Lordship a private letter, in which he said,—

"As Dr. O'Meara, in his conferences with General Bonaparte, will be found to speak very frequently in my name, it may be necessary to acquaint your Lordship it is wholly in an unofficial way, and generally even without any other authority than what desultory conversation with me may have afforded him. My language has been always the same to him as to Count Las Cases—not so much *accommodation* as *truth*. . . . . My duties are of a very delicate nature—my situation highly responsible. If I have erred, it has been by following the dictates of my own judgment; and that I may not continue in error, I have earnestly to pray your Lordship's consideration, free from indulgence, to all matters I have by this occasion reported. . . . .

"I should not close this private communication without mentioning to your Lordship a circumstance which Dr. O'Meara told me when he brought the pro-

posal for the intermediation of Sir Pulteney Malcolm,—that General Bonaparte observed to him at the time he had been so much struck with the frankness, candour, and openness of the Admiral's countenance and manner, that he felt disposed to make a full disclosure to him of everything relating to his pecuniary affairs, giving him a paper with a declaration on every point regarding them. As General Bonaparte did not see the Admiral, he has as yet heard nothing of this intended proposal to him."

Sir Pulteney Malcolm saw Bonaparte on the 11th of January, and he acquainted the Governor with the principal subjects of their conversation in the following note:—

"I had a long *tête-à-tête* with Bonaparte yesterday; he is certainly thinner than when I last saw him, and his eyes appear a little sunk; but he was in excellent spirits, and on the whole looking well. He did not advert in the slightest manner to any occurrence that has taken place since he quitted France. We talked of the expedition to Egypt, of Corsica, and of events that happened on his landing from Elba. I have not seen him in better spirits. Madame Bertrand is still on her legs, and in good spirits;[1] the Count, as usual, melancholy. I had not any particular conversation with him."

[1] The Countess Bertrand was not confined until the 17th (*Voice*, vol. i. p. 314); and on the 26th, when Bonaparte paid her a visit, she wittily observed, "Sire, I have the honour to present to your Majesty *le premier Français* who, since your arrival, has entered Longwood without Lord Bathurst's permission."—*Ibid.* p. 338. The child was named after the Emperors of Austria and Russia and the *Duke of Wellington*. Count Montholon asserts (*Récits*, vol. ii. p. 59) that the restrictions upon their communications with the town delayed the arrival of the accoucheur for four hours. Had this been true, the circumstance would assuredly have been mentioned by O'Meara, and it would also have been used by Bonaparte as evidence of the cruelty of the Regulations.

O'Meara's letters to Sir Hudson Lowe this month represent Napoleon as enjoying good health and spirits.

Some complaints were made to the doctor about the quality of the provisions served at Longwood, and he wrote to Sir Thomas Reade on the 21st of January on the subject. He said,—

"Cipriani yesterday came to me and complained that for two days the mutton had been so bad that even the servants would not eat it, and that the fish which came up yesterday had been caught on Saturday; that they had not sent any cabbages the day before, and that the onions they sent are of bad quality; that he had seen himself in the town excellent cabbages, and at Balcombe's house some excellent mutton; that no oranges or apples had been sent up to them, though he was informed by several in the town that provision of such had arrived from the Cape in abundance; and that, in expectation of their sending some up, he had not bought any himself. . . . . This day the mutton has been sent back, and a request made to Mr. Fowler to send (whenever the mutton is not of a tolerable quality) fresh pork in lieu. It appears that the mutton sent up has been got from the Company's farm, and therefore that they are not to blame for it, as the sheep were delivered to them by Mr. Porteous."

It appears also that sufficient attention was not paid to cleanliness in some points, for next day O'Meara writes to Sir Thomas,—

"The curtains at present hung are extremely dirty; and B. [Bonaparte] himself on a former occasion made a complaint to me that he was obliged to have sheets hung up as curtains to his bed-room in consequence of the dirtiness of these curtains, and no others to replace

them while washing having been then sent up. To avoid, therefore, any handle for a similar complaint, I have thought it best to make you acquainted with this."

About this time Sir Hudson Lowe sent some excellent coffee to Longwood, thinking it would be an acceptable present. And so it was considered by Bonaparte, but Count Montholon calls it "an inexplicable idea of performing an act of politeness;" and he adds that he hesitated to convey to Bonaparte the polite message which accompanied the coffee, addressed to *General* Bonaparte, "so much was he convinced that the answer would be throwing oil upon the fire, when, to his great astonishment, Napoleon said, 'Cause the case to be carried to the pantry; good coffee is a precious thing in this horrible place.'" The Count intimates that Cipriani, the *maître-d'hôtel*, suspected that the coffee might be *poisoned!* "Cipriani," he says, "thought me mad when I put the case into his charge, to be used by the chief cook. I was obliged to repeat the Emperor's orders before he would consent to obey, declaring to me over and over again that he would first of all submit it to a variety of trials before he allowed it to be served up to his master. In fact, the coffee was excellent."[1]

This little incident shows how perverted were the minds of the French at St. Helena, and how difficult it was to please persons so disposed to misconstrue the commonest act of politeness.

O'Meara mentions, in a note to Sir Hudson Lowe on the 22nd of January, that he was convinced the coffee would be acceptable, as it appeared to be of very superior quality; and he says, "I gave the

[1] Récits, vol. ii. p. 51.

General his 'Secret Amours,' during the reading of which he laughed very heartily."[1]

In his printed journal of the 27th of January he relates a long conversation with Bonaparte respecting the various attempts that had been made to assassinate him.[2] He then gives an interesting narrative of Napoleon's plan of invasion of this country,[3] which, with slight variations, is contained in the following letter to Sir Hudson Lowe. But it will be seen that O'Meara did not report to the Governor any part of the conversation which in his book he represents to have taken place relative to the attempts at assassination.

"Dear Sir, (Private) "Longwood, Jan. 28, 1817.

"The following conversation, which took place yesterday between General Bonaparte and myself, may probably not be uninteresting to you. Finding him in a tolerable good humour, and apparently ready to communicate, I took an opportunity of asking him whether he ever had *really* intended to invade England?—and, if so, what were his plans?—and also whether he thought he would be successful? He replied without hesitation, 'It was my firm intention to invade England, and to head the expedition myself. My plan was to despatch two squadrons to the West Indies (he did not say from what ports); there they were to meet and unite at a specified place, and, instead of waiting there, after showing themselves amongst the islands they were to proceed back again to Europe with all despatch; they were to raise the

[1] Bonaparte said that there was not a single word of truth in the anecdotes contained in this work, and that even the names of the greater number of females mentioned were unknown to him.—*Voice*, vol. i. p. 322.

[2] Voice, vol. i. p. 338–348. See also vol. ii. p. 378.

[3] Ibid. pp. 349–353.

blockade of Ferrol, and take the fleet out of it. They were then to proceed to Brest, and in like manner to release and join the squadron there. By these means I would have had a squadron of about seventy sail-of-the-line, besides frigates, &c. They were to proceed directly to, and sweep the English Channel, where they would meet with nothing strong enough to oppose them; for, by means of false intelligence, adroitly managed, I would have induced your Ministers to send squadrons to the Mediterranean and East and West Indies in search of mine. I intended then to push over, under their protection, the Boulogne flotilla, with 200,000 men, to land near Sheerness and Chatham, and to push directly for London, where I calculated to arrive in four days. During the march I would have made my army observe the most exemplary discipline; marauding, or otherwise injuring or insulting the inhabitants, would have been punished with instant death. I would have published proclamations (which I would have had ready) declaring that we were only come as friends to the English nation, to render them free, and to relieve them from an obnoxious and despotical aristocracy, whose object was to keep them eternally at war in order to enrich themselves and their families at the expense of the blood of the people. Arrived at London, I would have proclaimed a republic (I was First Consul then,' said he)—'Liberty, equality, sovereignty of the people —*abolished the monarchical government*, the *nobility*, and the *House of Peers*. The House of Commons I would have retained, with a great reform; the property of the nobles I would have declared to be forfeited, and to be divided amongst the people, amongst the partisans of the revolution—a general equality and division of property. By these means I hoped to

gain a formidable party—to be joined by all the *canaglie* in such a great city as London, by all the idle and disaffected in the kingdom—and that, perhaps, I might ultimately succeed.'

"I replied that perhaps, if he effected a landing with 200,000 men, he might succeed in taking London, but that I was convinced his army would be ultimately destroyed; that such was the national spirit of the English—their jealousy and hatred of the French yoke—that it would operate like an electric shock amongst all ranks; that, however some might be discontented or in opposition to the Government, yet still that all parties would unite in expelling or annihilating the French; that the fear of being made a French province, or even indeed of being humbled by France, would have been sufficient to induce every Englishman to arm and rally round the constitution; that in a few weeks he would have had 500,000 infantry and 50,000 or 60,000 cavalry to oppose him; that perhaps at first he would have been successful in two or three pitched battles, if the English generals had been foolish enough to meet him; but that his army would have been destroyed piecemeal, and finally annihilated. He replied, 'it is more than you or I or Pitt could say, whether I would have been successful or not. I considered all you have said; but I calculated also the effect the possession of a great and rich capital, of the Bank and all the money, the ships in the river, Chatham, and perhaps Portsmouth, would have had, together with the effect also the proclamations which I would have published to *coglionare il popolo*[1] would have had: for I would cautiously have avoided saying anything about annexing England to France; on the contrary, I would have

[1] "Befool the people."

declared that we came only as friends, to expel a flagitious and tyrannical aristocracy, and to restore the rights of the people; that when we had done that we would depart as friends. The hope of a change for the better—of a division of property—would have operated wonderfully amongst the *canaglie*, especially of London: the *canaglie* of all nations are nearly alike. There are traitors to be found amongst all nations. I would have made such promises as would have had a great effect to *coglionare* them all. What could an undisciplined army do in a country abounding in plains, like England, against mine? Besides, I calculated upon having the sovereignty of the seas for two or three months, by which means I would have had supplies of troops. When your fleets did return they would find their capital in the hands of an enemy—the country overwhelmed with my armies. This might have had a great effect upon the sailors, together with my promises: I would have abolished flogging, and promised them everything. But even if they did remain faithful, which is doubtful, some vessels of those nightly despatched from France with troops, whenever the wind was fair, would succeed in landing. I would also have stirred up an insurrection in Ireland at the same time, in order to divide and distract your Government's exertions. Afterwards I would have *acted according to circumstances, according to my strength.* If I found myself *strong enough, I would have annexed England to France;* if not—and it is probably doubtful whether I would have been able to do it or not—I would have established such a government as would be most consonant to my views. There is no knowing what might have happened, Signore Dottore,' continued he. I replied, that the inhabitants would have burnt London sooner than have let him

take it. He answered, 'No, no, I do not believe that; you are too rich—London is too rich—and *you are too fond of money* to do that. A nation does not so easily burn a capital. Look at the French: how often have the Parisians sworn to bury themselves under the ruins of the capital sooner than let it fall into the hands of the enemies of France; and yet twice they have let it be taken quietly!' I here mentioned Moscow to him; and also said that Paris and London were quite different—that in Paris there was a difference of opinion—that France having been lately revolutionised, half of its inhabitants were of one opinion, and half another—that they had not the national spirit of the English; and, having been lately accustomed to changes, viewed them with less concern than the English would; that, besides, probably the inhabitants of London would have defended the city street by street; and that in such a case his army would meet with a similar fate as ours did at Rosetta and Buenos Ayres. He said, 'I believe that there is a great deal more national spirit in England than in France, but still I do not believe that you would have burnt the capital. If, indeed, you had had some weeks to remove your riches, then indeed it might have been possible; but consider that you would not have had time to organize any plan of doing so—I would have been at the gates in a few days. Besides, Moscow was of wood; and moreover it was *not* the inhabitants who set it on fire; on the contrary, they were very sorry for it, and did everything in their power to put it out. It was the Cossacks and some condemned criminals who were the incendiaries. They had also time to take their measures as to defending the town. I would not have been foolish enough to have entered the streets under such circumstances: I would have

coglionato you with treaties and other means. Besides, you would not have had time to arrange a plan for a defence before I would have been at your doors, and the terror of such an army would have paralysed your exertions. I tell you, Mr. Doctor,' continued he, 'that there is a great deal to be said on both sides, and I do not know but I might have succeeded. Having the capital—the capital,' repeated he—'in my hands would have had a wonderful effect.'

"Such, Sir, was the conversation which I have thought sufficiently interesting to communicate to you, and which I hope will not prove unacceptable. I have, &c.

"BARRY E. O'MEARA.

"P.S. He observed also, after stating that he would promise that his army only came to restore the rights of the people, that after they *had done that* they would depart as friends. 'The exact discipline I would have forced my army to observe would have confirmed this opinion.'"

To show the systematic attempts at misrepresentation resorted to by O'Meara, a trifling circumstance may be mentioned which occurred at this time. Count Bertrand had, contrary to the regulations, sent a *sealed* letter to Sir Thomas Reade, which contained an *open* letter to M. H. Bertrand, the Count's father, announcing the Countess Bertrand's confinement. "In the letter," says O'Meara, "were the words, '*nous écrivons à M. de la Touche*,' &c., to give further information, &c. Sir Hudson Lowe conceived that this meant that they *had written*, and immediately wrote a letter of reprimand to Count Bertrand, which was despatched in haste by an orderly dragoon."[1]

[1] Voice, vol. i. p. 365.

Nothing could be more natural than that Sir Hudson Lowe should so understand the words, and his object in writing to Count Bertrand was to prevent the possibility of its being suspected that he had withheld the letters which he supposed the Count to have written. His note was as follows :—

"Monsieur le Comte, "Plantation House, Jan. 28, 1817.

"In a letter sent by you *under a sealed envelope to Sir Thomas Reade*, and addressed to Monsieur H. Bertrand, there is the following passage: 'We write to Monsieur La Touche and to Lady Jerningham,' &c. As these letters are not sent under the same envelope, I beg you will let me know whether you have sent them by any other channel, or if you have only the intention of sending them? I take the liberty of making this inquiry, because, if Monsieur H. Bertrand were to make known to Monsieur La Touche or to Lady Jerningham the passage in the letter to him which I have quoted, they might very naturally be led to believe that I had kept back the letters addressed to them. I must, on this occasion, Monsieur le Comte, beg to call your attention to the regulations respecting the mode of sending your letters. I have, &c.

"H. LOWE."

A more courteous communication than this could hardly have been sent, and the "reprimand," which, according to O'Meara, was all that the letter conveyed, merely called Count Bertrand's attention to the established rules for transmitting his correspondence. And yet it is actually pretended by O'Meara that Bonaparte felt convinced from this note that Sir Hudson was "composed of imbecility, incapacity, and a little cunning, but that incapacity prevails"![1]

[1] Voice, vol. i. pp. 366, 367.

Sir Hudson Lowe wrote on the 23rd of January to Earl Bathurst and mentioned that O'Meara had informed him in conversation that Bonaparte did not intend the observations he had made on the memorandum relative to the restrictions as a complaint; and that they had been merely sent to the Governor as grounds on which to offer explanation. The letter then proceeded,—"I told Dr. O'Meara I considered this paper, with the remarks General Bonaparte had made on my verbal answer to his proposal for an intermediation, as setting aside both the proposal and the intermediation. This was repeated to General Bonaparte, who said he did not mean it in that light, and he expected I might have sent the Admiral to him. A hint was given to Dr. O'Meara that he would then be able to come to a right understanding with me. I have not, however, acted upon this communication. I pointed out to Dr. O'Meara the injurious nature of his accusations. Having altered the 5th and 6th articles of the regulations complained of (providing through other means that the checks imposed by them should not be weakened)—having removed the sentries (whose appearance in new situations had furnished a pretext for not taking his usual exercise) to places where they could observe as well without being seen by him—there remains little for me to do, in respect to removal of restrictions, except that of giving a greater latitude for exercise during the daytime, and this I shall now be unwilling to admit until I may receive some communications from England—being without intelligence of any later date than the month of July. I shall not be found, however, repugnant to grant any relaxation which may not be at variance with the two leading points of my instruction—personal security and the prevention of unauthorized

communication, in which respects I am now, as I always have been, ready to pay every attention to his desires."

Sir Hudson Lowe's other despatches to Earl Bathurst of the same date contain only a few passages of interest. In addition to the money expended by Government on the Longwood establishment during the quarter ending on the 31st of December 1816, Sir Hudson informed Lord Bathurst that Bonaparte had himself caused plate to be sent to the purveyor to the value of 1065*l.* 14*s.* 10½*d.*, all of which remained in deposit, the money having been advanced upon it, until instructions from England should arrive respecting it. He added,—

"General Bonaparte, since Count Las Cases' departure, has been unusually tranquil; he has not quitted his apartments at Longwood these two months past, but he mixes more in society with the persons of his family, is more cheerful, enjoys better health, and pays more attention to the preservation of it, so far as relates to the regulation of his diet, than he has done for some time past. Rear-Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm had a very long private interview with him, but had no conversation, as he acquaints me, on recent matters. I enclose a note the Admiral wrote immediately after seeing him. Sir George Bingham also saw General Bonaparte a few days before the Admiral: no conversation of any moment occurred between them. Since Count Las Cases' departure I have derived a fresh proof of his exceedingly mischievous disposition. It is contained in the accompanying extract of a private letter from Mr. Urmston,[1]

[1] Mr. Urmston's letter stated that "some of the commanders and officers of the Company's ships who had arrived in China from St. Helena had

one of the East India Company's Committee of Supercargoes at Canton in China. This gentleman was resident here, living with Sir George Cockburn, at the time of my arrival. I feel myself much indebted to him for his evident pains to counteract the effects of the poison which Count Las Cases had been so assiduous in his endeavours to instil into the minds of the commanders of the Company's vessels. He was more active in this respect, and, from his pretended knowledge of English laws, manners, customs, government, &c. (on all which points General Bonaparte looked up to him alone for information), did more to lead astray his mind from anything like a conciliatory view of the British Government's proceedings towards him, than the whole of his other attendants together. The nature of the talents he possessed for this object cannot be better designated than under the appellation by which he was always spoken of among the French attendants at Longwood, 'The Jesuit.' . . . . As no arrangement has hitherto been made for sending General Bonaparte any newspapers or new publications of any kind, I would beg leave to submit this point to your Lordship's consideration. I occasionally send him such as I myself receive, but his expectations I believe go beyond this. I do not, however, like to offer him my services in sending to England for papers or new publications, and believe your Lordship will approve the selection should be made at home."

On the 28th of January Sir Hudson Lowe forwarded to Lord Bathurst O'Meara's report of Bo-

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fabricated a number of lies respecting the treatment which Napoleon and his friends received at St. Helena; and that it seemed that Las Cases, &c., had made out some pitiful stories when strangers were there about their provisions, &c."

naparte's plan for the invasion of England; and added,—

"Dr. O'Meara had a very particular conversation with him some days before, when he undertook a justification of his conduct at the massacre of Jaffa, concluding his remarks with saying that he was the only man who had ever risen to so highly exalted a station as that he had filled *without having ever committed a single crime.* To use Dr. O'Meara's own expression to me, he *stared* at him with surprise on hearing the observation.[1] His defence was on the same grounds as he has frequently before spoken of the matter—military expediency, and his having found in the army against him at Jaffa about a thousand Turks whom he had made prisoners and released on their parole a short time before. Upon a former occasion he boasted to Dr. O'Meara of the exact information he was enabled to obtain from England; that the emigrants were on all occasions his best informers, but that he paid at times as large a sum as 2000*l.* and 3000*l.* per month to a lady of high rank, who sent him regular accounts of all he desired to know. He did not mention her name."

We have mentioned the scrupulous fidelity with which the Governor transmitted to England copies of the reports of all conversations with Napoleon furnished to him by O'Meara. In a private letter of the 2nd of February to Earl Bathurst, Sir Hudson said,—

"Without considering the remarks of General Bonaparte in these papers as any way oracular, or even in some respects very novel, they will be found not-

[1] O'Meara says in the 'Voice,' vol. i. p. 333, "'I never,' continued Napoleon, 'committed a crime in all my political career; at my last hour I can assert that,' &c." He does not *there* add that "he stared with surprise" at the declaration.

withstanding very descriptive of his present temper and disposition, and form a strong contrast by their spirit and gaiety with the gloomy picture which Count Las Cases was accustomed to draw of his state of mind, and with the mock grandeur and solemnity with which he always portrayed his sayings. He had, perhaps, a different mode of talking to Dr. O'Meara and to Count Las Cases, for nothing can be more opposite than the style of his conversation as repeated by each of them separately. In addition to what Dr. O'Meara has written of his last conversation, he acquaints me that General Bonaparte observed that England was like a man who had been under the influence of intoxication, who by swallowing large draughts of spirituous liquors had wound himself up to an extraordinary degree of vigour and energy, but, now that the effects were passed, had sunk into a state of comparative debility and exhaustion; that an extensive and flourishing commerce or war was necessary for her very existence. By following his suggestions, one or other of these alternatives would certainly very soon ensue. Dr. O'Meara has mentioned several particulars of his conversations also to Sir Pulteney Malcolm. He has been frequently backwards and forwards between Longwood and my house on the subject of General Bonaparte's expectations of some alteration in his restrictions, and of thence coming to a better understanding with me—General Bonaparte having gone so far as to say that he thought a person like him was worth knowing something more of, as one might learn some ideas from him."

In a letter of the 10th Sir Hudson Lowe mentioned that,—

"Baron Stürmer, the Austrian Commissioner, rode round Longwood House and garden a few days since with the hope of being enabled to see General Bonaparte. The latter heard of it, and was much hurt at the circumstance; remarking, he might have rode there two months before meeting the opportunity he wanted. He has said that, if apprehension of his visiting the Commissioners forms any obstacle to his enjoying a greater degree of personal liberty and more freedom of communication than he has hitherto had, he is willing to give assurances he will not go near any of them. I made no remark to Dr. O'Meara when he made this communication to me, and from what he said was glad to hear he had heard it without observation."

About this time Sir Hudson Lowe received from Count Las Cases, at the Cape of Good Hope, a long and formal protest against the whole of his proceedings towards him; and on the 25th of February he transmitted it to Earl Bathurst, with a full explanation upon each of the four articles of charge brought against him by the Count. It will be only necessary to give the material parts of his letter, which was of considerable length. He said,—

"*Firstly.* He protests against a separation of his person from his papers, in retaining the latter at St. Helena and sending him to the Cape. Count Las Cases was permitted to carry with him all the papers he brought with him to St. Helena, all his correspondence since his arrival here which had passed through the regular channels of authority, and every paper whatever in his possession of indifferent or unimportant matter. The only papers kept back from him were those which bore a direct personal reference in almost

every line and every page to General Bonaparte; the whole more or less relative to his situation as a prisoner of war, detained in this island under the authority of the British Government, whose proceedings towards him Count Las Cases had no authority whatever to narrate or intermeddle with. These papers have been equally claimed by General Bonaparte himself. Count Las Cases had been left at liberty to remain on the island of St. Helena with the papers under seal until a reply had been received from Government to my report regarding him and them. He adopted of his free choice the alternative of proceeding to the Cape of Good Hope, leaving the disputed papers behind him without any assurance of their being placed under seal.

"*Secondly.* He protests against my refusal to allow his seal to be affixed, unless he would consent to its being removed in his absence, under circumstances which were stated to him at the moment. The deliberation which I communicated to Count Las Cases at the time of his departure explains the principle upon which the particular indulgence of affixing his seal was offered to him. I pretend not to discuss the expediency of Count Las Cases' decision in declining to affix his seal under the circumstances above referred to; but the offer I made went to the utmost extent of delicacy and consideration that I conceive it was possible for me to go. To have granted more must, I conceive, have been a dereliction of my public duty. The reflection which comes most home to my mind is, that in this deliberation I granted too much. The motives, however, will hereafter find their explanation.

"*Thirdly.* He protests against my taking off the Government and Island seals which I affixed to the

papers at the time of his departure. On this subject it is, of course, to your Lordship alone I hold myself responsible. The affixion of these seals was a voluntary precaution taken by myself for the more formal preservation and security of papers of such importance, and to guard at the same time against any accusations to which private malignity might expose me, of altering or removing any part of them, if left without any form in my own possession.

"The *fourth* protest which Count Las Cases makes is in all respects the most remarkable. He acquaints me that he has addressed his Royal Highness the Prince Regent and his Ministers to obtain that his Journal (which he now calls his 'Recueil Historique') shall be delivered back to him 'intact;' and that in all cases it shall not be opened far from him. He gives me notice of this to create a new responsibility for me—by surmising it is possible I may receive an authorization to open the papers in the first instance, and that a counter order may afterwards follow on his application not to do so; ending with a solemn declaration that this collection is entirely foreign to all my principal duties, and contains no indication, light, or relation whatever, with the surveillance that I am charged to exercise. I feel persuaded it is quite unnecessary for me to enter into a formal refutation of the declaration here presented.

"Count Las Cases' letters and conversations, copies and minutes of the whole of which were forwarded to your Lordship, will best explain the nature of this document. That Count Las Cases should not be at liberty to carry away with him from this island an historical and political Journal—kept, as General Bonaparte has himself said, by his orders—relating every event which had occurred to him since he deli-

vered himself up to the authority of the British Government, cannot, I conceive, admit of any argument; but when it is considered, at the same time, that it contains the grossest misrepresentations throughout of the proceedings of the British authorities towards him —repetitions from his mouth of the most envenomed and calumniating abuse, caught up by Count Las Cases as he has dropped it under moments of irritation, without perhaps the intention or idea of its ever appearing in any historical record—I am fully persuaded it must appear to your Lordship that those who are thus misrepresented and abused shall, now that chance has brought to light the dark designs of the writers, have the opportunity of knowing and defending themselves from every paragraph of so libellous a production. The title of 'Recueil Historique,' now given for the first time to this document, and which varies so much from the terms in which Count Las Cases first spoke of it, furnishes an additional motive for this expectation. Amongst the persons who are most injured by the misrepresentations and reflections contained in this document are Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn and myself. The cursory view I took of it in Count Las Cases' own presence did not enable me to peruse with the same attention the part preceding as that since my arrival in this island. My eye only caught one paragraph, and that since my arrival, where Sir George Cockburn's name and proceedings were most maliciously spoken of. Every transaction of mine, every letter I wrote or expression I uttered, met its full comment; and this always in the most unfavourable light that malevolence could devise. In the conscientious discharge of a public duty, which I have endeavoured to execute according to the spirit as well as the letter of my

instructions, and with always the most sincere intention to conciliate what was in its nature unavoidably harsh or unpleasant with every regard to General Bonaparte's personal feeling and comfort, bearing in mind his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's particular instruction on this point, I thus found myself, nevertheless, exposed (whilst debarred from almost all opportunity of personal communication with the individual under my charge, as well by the insulting rudeness of his own manner as by the insidious arts and misrepresentations of those around him) to all the contumely which great talents combined with deep malice can invent to brand my name to posterity in the most odious colours, and that in an historical production which is calculated to blazon forth the character of the individual (who has been, I believe, in many cases unknowingly made to speak of me) as the model of every virtue under heaven, whilst the compiler of these calumnies and misrepresentations offers me at the same time in his protest a solemn declaration that the work contains nothing which has any relation whatever to the charge with which I am intrusted—'n'a aucun rapport avec la surveillance dont je suis chargé.' Count Las Cases, on his separation from Longwood, became sensible of the injustice he had done, and expressed his readiness to alter any offensive passage. Giving to him the credit of sincerity in this offer, it is still not so much in his power to make the atonement as in that of the person whose name he has so freely used. It is impossible for me, however, to possess much confidence in either; and my principal reliance, therefore, must rest on your Lordship's determination as to the mode in which the papers in question are to be finally disposed of. In addressing your Lordship thus fully on the share I

bear in Count Las Cases' historical Journal, I suppose myself under a certain kind of interdict with regard to its perusal; it is an interdict, however, solely imposed by my own delicacy on account of the numerous personal references it bears to myself. . . . . If it is thought I yielded too much in the deliberation I afterwards presented to him by offering to permit him to affix his own seal, I should desire it to be observed it was solely, as expressed in the deliberation, from motives of personal delicacy—protesting at the same time against this being drawn forth into anything like a legal bar to the seal being taken off when the circumstances adverted to in the paper might call for it. Exclusive of the above motives, springing from the so frequent detractive mention in his Journal of my own name, I would desire that the state of health of body and mind, as well of General Bonaparte himself as of Count Las Cases, and the fever of irritation and disappointment in which both were, so as not entirely to leave me free of doubt that some fatal effect or violent injury might be sustained by one or both of them, may also be considered. The consequences in such case would have been attributed entirely to my conduct, whereas the line of proceeding I adopted, leaving as little reason as possible for complaint, yielded up, as I hope it will appear, no essential point to either of them. In concluding these remarks on Count Las Cases' protests, I think I cannot more strongly point out the exceeding presumption of them in expecting that what he now calls his 'Recueil Historique' should be again restored to him, than by referring to the claim that Count Bertrand made for the same document in General Bonaparte's name; and I am induced to lay a greater stress on this claim, from the full conviction that General Bonaparte would disavow and

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condemn many of the opinions and expressions Count Las Cases has attributed to him, as conveyed through the too exclusive medium of French national vanity, and would not authorize any publicity to be given to several parts of it during his lifetime. As yet, I think it right to add, no person whatever has seen any part of the Journal since its separation from Longwood, except myself, and that only on the cursory occasion when Count Las Cases himself was present."

On the 24th of February O'Meara addressed a letter to the Governor, in which he detailed a conversation he had had with Bonaparte on the subject of the Restrictions. It was as follows:—

"Longwood, February 24, 1817.

"General Bonaparte having some days past entered into conversation with me respecting the extent of limits at present allowed to him for the purpose of exercise (without being accompanied by a British officer), I took an opportunity, in answer to his remarks, to observe that I believed you were inclined to grant him as much liberty as possible consistent with your instructions,[1] which, I observed, were (I believed) very positive with respect to not allowing any communication or correspondence without your knowledge and permission; that I believed you did not find yourself at liberty to grant him permission to enter freely or hold long conversation in such houses as might be within the limits allowed him to ride

[1] This passage is *omitted* in the 'Voice' (see vol. i. pp. 364, 367, 372, 376). It is in striking contrast with the previous assertion by O'Meara of his belief that the Governor's conduct with respect to the Restrictions showed unnecessary rigour.—See p. 77, *ante*. But inconsistency is ever the companion of untruth.

about; that his making a practice of doing so would render it necessary for a British officer to be present; but that I believed if he would abstain from entering into houses that the business might be arranged. At first he said that this would never answer, and that he would not agree to make any such promise; but, after some more conversation on the subject, and after musing for a few minutes, he said, 'I cannot conceive what he is afraid of—perhaps the Commissioners! Perhaps he may have some fear of them. There may be some political reason with which I am unacquainted which may render it necessary. Policy justifies everything! If he means that, I am willing to consent not to go into their houses.' I replied that I did not know anything about the Commissioners; that I had heard nothing about them; but that I believed your instructions interdicted him from going into any other houses except such as you might think proper; and concluded by asking him if he would agree that it should be settled in the following manner, to wit—that you should send to Longwood a list of such houses as you would allow him to enter into and visit: that, if he consented to that, I thought that a greater extent of limits might be allowed unto him. After some conversation, and after having reflected for some time, he said, 'If he sends a list, or tells Bertrand that within such and such limits there are one or two houses (or more) which he suspects, or into which he does not wish me to go or visit, I will not either enter them nor that of the Commissioners. If he does it in this manner it will be understood; but if he sent a list of all the houses in the island except one, and specified that I might enter every one of those houses except that one, I would not accept of it: whereas, if he made a list of every house in the

island except one, and said that he did not wish me to go into any of such houses, and said nothing about the one remaining, I would sooner accept of it than the first, though by doing so I could only go into one house, whereas by accepting the first I could go into every house on the island except one. For by this last method of visiting houses mentioned in a list, it would look like visiting with leave—going in by his permission; whereas the other would appear like a free will, as, in consequence of nothing being said about it, it would be left to my option whether to visit or not. It would not appear like begging permission to visit such and such a person.'[1] In a conversation which I had with him a day or two posterior to this he repeated the same; but added that he would not enter into any agreement to be debarred speaking to such people as he might meet in the course of his rides if he chose to do so. This he said without my having made any observation that such would be required or desirable."

In forwarding this letter to Earl Bathurst, Sir Hudson Lowe wrote,—

"It will be observed a great deal is prepared to be yielded by him (Bonaparte), but he still holds to the privilege of conversing with whomsoever he pleases, whether a British officer is present or not, and thus throws a real bar in the way of any extension of his present riding limits; for the attendance of an officer close to his person might in many parts be dispensed with, if there was a security by any other way to be

[1] To this is added in the 'Voice' (vol. i. p. 373), "'Tell him this,' continued he, 'though I am sure that it is merely some shuffling trick on his part, and will come to nothing.'"

obtained against his communication with unauthorized persons."

O'Meara's letters to Sir Hudson Lowe in February this year contain a fuller account of many of Bonaparte's conversations than he afterwards printed; but no allusion occurs in them to some other conversations which in the 'Voice' he states himself to have had with Napoleon about the same time. The undying interest which attaches to all that fell from the lips of this remarkable man will justify the insertion of these conversations here, although part of them are already known to the public. On the 1st of February O'Meara wrote:—

"A conversation took place between General Bonaparte and myself a short time since[1] touching the present state of distress amongst the lower class in England, and the stagnation of commerce, which perhaps may not be uninteresting to you. He observed that he thought a great deal of blame was to be attached to the English Ministers at the time of the general peace, or shortly afterwards, or even very lately, in not having made certain stipulations for the benefit of their own country. 'Had they attended to this latter point,' continued he, 'instead of minding nothing but schemes to keep that poor "*coglione*" Louis upon the throne, your country would have been in a very different state at present to what it actually is. You ought to have said to the Court of Spain, "We have expended so many millions of money and so many thousands of lives on your account, in order to prevent your country, which you were not able to defend yourselves, from falling a prey to France—we

[1] On the 8th of December (*Voice*, vol. i. p. 264). This report of Napoleon's observations is much fuller than in the 'Voice.'

have impoverished ourselves, and increased our national debt so many millions, solely on your account—we are overburdened with taxes, and unable to pay the debt ourselves: we demand, then, and insist upon it, that you, in order to reimburse us, grant that we shall be the only foreign nation allowed to trade to the Spanish colonies in South America for ten or twenty years, and that we may have the same privileges there as Spanish vessels." In like manner you would have said to the Court of Portugal, "We have expended so many millions of money in your defence—we have sacrificed thousands of lives in order to prevent you from becoming a province of France—to us you owe your political existence as a nation—we, and we only, have saved your kingdom—in consequence we have contracted a debt of so many millions on your account—we are unable to repay this money expended for you—we are overburdened with debt on your account—you are unable to pay us: we therefore *require*, and *insist* upon it, that we shall be the only foreign nation allowed to trade to the Brazils for twenty years,[1] and that our ships may have the same privileges as your own." Nobody,' continued he, 'could deny the justness of your demand; for really it was by you, and you only, and by the energy you displayed, that both Spain and Portugal were saved from falling into my hands. You could have asked them who saved Lisbon at such a time?—who saved Spain?—who alone assisted you when all the powers of Europe were against you? The Congress them-

[1] It is no part of the plan of this work to criticise the opinions of Napoleon on questions of policy or finance, but without considering the practicability of his suggestion, or its selfishness if practicable, we may appeal to it as the testimony of a great authority to the disinterested conduct of Britain at the close of the war.

selves could not have said nay; for they must have acknowledged that your demand was only right and just, and founded upon equity. Besides, nobody could oppose you. France is nothing. If they refused to accede to your wishes, you had only to insist upon the immediate payment of the whole of the money expended for everything connected with them during the Peninsular war, and tell them plainly that until that was paid no nation should trade with them. You should say, "If you do not give the trade to us, nobody else shall have it." They could not oppose you either by force or by right. In this manner your commerce would have flourished, the seas would have been covered with your ships, and your seamen, instead of flying to Russia and America, would have been employed in your own ships. Your manufacturers would have been rich and thriving, instead of having subscriptions opened for them to rescue them from starvation. Besides, in a short time the French will have the Brazil trade; for you, having already more than enough of coffee, sugar, and cotton' (I think he said) 'in your West and East India colonies, consequently will not take any of those articles, which are the principal produce of the Brazils, in exchange for your manufactured goods. Now the French, not having enough of these colonial productions from Martinique for their own use, will exchange their wines, brandies, furniture, and manufactures for them with the Portuguese, and consequently in a short time will engross the whole of the trade. Besides, religion will have a great effect in inducing both them and the Spaniards to trade with them in preference to you; and the jealousy which every nation has of you, in consequence of your being masters of the seas, will make every power lend a hand to

humble and lessen you, the most effectual way of doing which is to lessen your commerce. The greatest piece of commercial *coglioneria* (folly) also,' said he, 'which you have been guilty of was giving back those islands to the Dutch. You should never have allowed a Dutch vessel, or any other nation, to go beyond the Cape of Good Hope. Perhaps you do it to keep that weak *coglione* the Prince of Orange upon the throne, to ingratiate him with the Dutch, by making them believe that it is through regard for him that you have granted it, to get yourselves a claim to Dutch gratitude. You are mistaken; because the Dutch will, from national jealousy, be the first who will join the French against you, if the latter are able in ten or twenty years more to wage a war against you.' 'I observed,' said he to me, two or three days back, 'a circumstance in the papers, which I can hardly believe, that there is a project (with the approbation of the Bourbons) to make a contract with an English company to furnish iron pipes to supply Paris with water in the same manner as London is. *Coglione* and imbecile as I well know the Bourbons to be, I can scarcely give any credit to a project so unpopular, and of so destructive a tendency to themselves, which none but insane persons would consent to. It will excite the anger, jealousy, and rage of the whole nation more against them than any plan their greatest enemies could suggest to them to execute in order to ruin themselves, and cause their third expulsion from France. If the English Ministers really wish to keep them upon the throne, they ought to advise them against it, and not even allow an English company to avail themselves of their offer. If it takes place, and is not attended with some terrible consequences to them,' continued he, getting up, in a very significant

manner, 'I am a *coglione*, and will declare that I have always been one.'

"P.S. Since copying the above from the letter which I had the honour of writing to you this day, I find, by a further reference, that he said we should have said (speaking of the powers of Spain and Portugal), 'In this manner we will reimburse ourselves without distressing you;' as he observed that it would not injure either Spain or Portugal granting us an exclusive commerce, as we could supply them with articles as cheap as the other powers at least, except by barter; that it would only injure France and some of the others, by depriving them of a lucrative commerce. He also added that, if we had made all those demands, the Allied Powers would not have been a whit more jealous of us than they are now, and always will be, as long as we have absolute power over the seas, and insist upon our right of searching vessels, and the other articles of our maritime code. 'You would then,' continued he, 'have the means of keeping up your maritime empire, which must decay if you have not more commerce than all the rest of the world. But your Ministers have had false ideas of things: they have imagined that they could inundate the Continent with their merchandise, and that they would find a ready sale for it. No, no; the world is now more illuminated: they will say—even the Russians will say, "Why should we enrich this nation to enable her to keep up a monopoly and tyrannize over the seas, whilst our own manufactures are numerous and skilful? No, no; we will have no more of their goods." Every nation will be jealous of you so long as you have the sovereignty of the seas. You will find that in a short time, little [*i. e.* few] English manufactures will be sold on the Continent, there were so many

thousand manufactories established by me. The French excel you now in cloth, and several others, the Hollanders in cambric. I gave a new era to manufactories: I established the Ecole Polytechnique, from whence hundreds of able chemists and others went out to different manufactories. I caused a person from this school, well skilled in chemistry, to be attached to every manufactory. In consequence everything was proceeded upon on certain and unerring principles, and they had a reason to give for every part of their operations, instead of proceeding in the old uncertain way. I suppose that there are 10,000 able chemists in France, and perhaps not 200 in England. Times are changed, and you must look for some other place than the Continent of Europe to dispose of your merchandise. America, and the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, will be the only vent for them. Recollect what I say to you now. Your people in another year or two, if some step is not taken to relieve them, will call out for another war. They will say, "We have gained everything, and yet we are starving—we are worse than we were in the war—we must have another war." England *ha giucato per tutte o niente* (has played for all or nothing): she has gained all, effected impossibilities, yet has nothing, and her people are starving, and worse than they were in the midst of wars; whilst France, who has lost everything, is doing well, and her people are abundantly provided with everything. France has got fat, notwithstanding the liberal bleedings she has had; while England is like a man who has had a false momentary strength given to him by intoxicating liquors, and who, after the effect of them is over, sinks into a debilitated state."

The only allusion to Catholic Emancipation in

O'Meara's notes of Bonaparte's conversation at this period is stated to have occurred on the 27th of January;[1] and though differently related in his work, they nevertheless appear to have been the same remarks as he communicated to Sir Hudson Lowe in the following letter, dated February 2, 1817:—

"With respect to the Catholics, General Bonaparte said that, at the time the Catholic business was first discussed seriously, he would have given fifty millions to be certain that the emancipation would not have been granted to them, as it would have effectually prevented any plan of his upon Ireland ever succeeding by rendering the Catholics as loyal as the Protestants: he added, that he could not conceive the policy of the Ministers' refusing to grant a measure which would have so highly benefited England, whose present method of proceeding with the Catholics was only worthy of two or three centuries back when the penal laws were enacted, and not of such an enlightened nation as they were at present: he added, that the Pope was a good old man, and would grant anything the British Ministers would ask. This conversation was brought on by his saying that, if he had anything to do with the management of affairs in England, he would contrive to pay a great deal of the national debt by appropriating *all the Church livings*, where they exceed a certain amount, *except a tenth* (so that the income of any of the clergymen of the highest rank should never exceed 800*l.* or 1000*l.* a-year), towards liquidating it. These clergymen, he said, ought to set that example of moderation themselves which Jesus Christ taught them was so necessary to pastors, instead of merely preaching it up, and at the

[1] Voice, vol. i. pp. 355, 356.

same time wallowing in sloth and riches. The same thing he would do with the sinecures, except to persons who had rendered the most eminent services to the state. The Catholics, he said, would no doubt be willing to pay an immense sum of money towards diminishing the national debt, provided their emancipation was secured to them."

CHAPTER XIII.

QUALITY OF PROVISIONS SUPPLIED AT LONGWOOD — LETTER FROM O'MEARA TO SIR HUDSON LOWE — NAPOLEON'S HEALTH — DESPATCHES FROM EARL BATHURST — SIR PULTENEY MALCOLM'S INTERVIEW AND CONVERSATION WITH NAPOLEON — CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SIR PULTENEY MALCOLM AND SIR HUDSON LOWE — MR. WARDEN'S BOOK: 'LETTERS FROM SAINT HELENA'—NAPOLEON'S REMARKS ON LORD AMHERST'S EMBASSY TO CHINA — LORD BATHURST'S SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

ONE of the grievances prominently put forward by those writers who have shown themselves so skilful in finding fault with every part of the arrangements at St. Helena is the alleged bad quality of the provisions supplied at Longwood; and that there was sometimes ground for complaint may be freely admitted. Thus from a report of the orderly officer, Captain Poppleton, on the 11th of February, it appears that the mutton which had been sent there lately had been "very indifferent." He added, "One of the English servants bought a sheep in the valley, which is very good;" and said that he understood that Bonaparte had desired him (Captain Poppleton) to be asked whether Cipriani might not go down there accompanied by a soldier. Sir Hudson Lowe, being apprehensive that such permission might be abused, replied that he did not see the least necessity for sending Cipriani to the different houses for the purchase of meat and vegetables, and Captain Poppleton next day wrote and told him that he did not doubt that this would be construed into a refusal

to allow Cipriani to pass the line of sentinels accompanied by a soldier.

But that the best of everything which the island could supply was as a general rule appropriated to the consumption at Longwood was made matter of complaint by others; and about this very time, Mr. Baxter, the Deputy Inspector of Hospitals at St. Helena, wrote to Major Gorrequer, and said, "I beg to trouble you so far as to lay the enclosed before His Excellency for consideration, and to request his interference in this universal and sweeping monopoly of the contractors for Longwood. I think it but fair that a sufficient quantity of milk for the use of the sick of the Fifty-third Regiment should be supplied by the same farmer who before furnished it, provided the surgeon of the regiment pays the same price as the contractors."

It may be interesting to peruse the following letter addressed to Sir Hudson Lowe by O'Meara on the 5th of March, although the conversation with Napoleon which he reports has with some slight variations been published by him in his work :[1]—

"Dear Sir, "Longwood, March 5, 1817.

"General Bonaparte was in extreme good spirits yesterday, and looked better than I have observed him for several weeks. In the course of conversation I asked him his opinion about Peltier. He said that the Journal was not a bad one altogether, though there were many sottises in it, but that Peltier was a *polisson*, a *briccone*—a man who would write anything for money and for anybody. 'He offered me,' continued he, 'a hundred times to change his style and write for me, for payment, and to do it

[1] Voice, vol. i. pp. 407-409.

in such a manner as that the British Government would not be aware that he was employed by me. One time in particular he sent a copy of a book written against me to the Police, with an offer of not printing it, provided a certain sum of money was given him. This was made known to me, and I ordered them to answer that if he paid the expenses the work should be printed in Paris for him. He was not, however, the only one who made offers of the kind to me. *Several* of the editors of the English newspapers made similar offers to his, and declared that they would render me essential services by doing so; but I did not then attach sufficient importance to it. Not so the Bourbons. In 1814 the editor of the Times[1] wrote for them, and was paid about 3000*l.* annually[2] of your money for so doing, besides taking a great number of copies. I told you before,' continued he, 'that a receipt from the editor for a certain sum monthly had been found amongst the papers of the Bourbons[3] on my return from Elba. I do not know whether they continue to pay him now or not. In that year also a great number of pamphlets against the Bourbons were written in London, a copy printed and sent to them with a threat to publish the same unless they were paid. The Bourbons were greatly afraid of these publications, and greedily bought them up. One in particular, a terrible libel against the Queen of France, cost them a great deal of money to suppress.' He had had, he added, thirty clerks in Paris constantly employed in an office translating the English newspapers and such English works of merit, whether political or otherwise, as

[1] The name of the paper is suppressed in the 'Voice,' vol. i. p. 408.
[2] "Annually" is omitted in the 'Voice.'
[3] "Amongst Blaca's papers."—*Voice*, vol. i. p. 408.

appeared. Extracts of any matters which appeared to be of any importance were daily made and submitted to him, but he did not, he said, as had been asserted, cause them to be translated in his presence, or endeavour to accompany the translator in his progress; he did not then, he said, know even the English article 'the.' 'Indeed, I did not,' continued he, 'esteem them of sufficient importance to learn the language purposely, especially as I had letters and intelligence constantly from the spies in England. The papers, however, served to confirm their information by the accounts they gave of the movements of troops, sailing and assembling of ships, and other measures of Government.' He added, however, that he lamented his not having known English *himself* since, in order that he might have been able *himself* to comprehend the right meaning of the English without having recourse to another person. I have the honour, &c.

"BARRY E. O'MEARA."

Sir Hudson Lowe transmitted this letter to Lord Bathurst with the following remarks:—

"The subject of the editor of the 'Times' newspaper having been kept in pay by the Bourbon family has been frequently mentioned by General Bonaparte, and he appears to have recurred to it on the present occasion for the express purpose of having it repeated. The 'Times' is the only newspaper he regularly receives, and this he has from me. He is very desirous of having some other papers, and particularly, I believe, the 'Morning Chronicle:' he would wish also to receive some of the foreign journals. I have recently sent him a whole series of the 'Ambigu,' with which, notwithstanding its being in so opposite

an interest to his, he has been on the whole much gratified."

It is almost needless to arrest the course of the narrative for the purpose of exposing a misrepresentation by Count Montholon, especially in a matter where even O'Meara has contradicted him; but it may be worth while to mention that the Count speaks of Napoleon as suffering at this time under alarming illness, which existed only in his own imagination. He says, "Symptoms of dysentery showed themselves, and we knew too well by experience what were the dangers of this malady under the burning climate of St. Helena. For three days our anxiety was extreme, though the disorder did not make any progress, but there was danger until the calomel had taken what the doctors call its effect. At length on the fifth day he was much better: on the eighth day the Emperor found himself well enough to take the air in the garden, but, perceiving Sir Hudson Lowe and two or three officers approaching, he returned immediately." . . . . "This attack of dysentery becoming known in the island, notwithstanding the care which Sir Hudson Lowe took to envelop Longwood in an impenetrable veil, the Commissioners were excited; they required official communications respecting the Emperor's health, and renewed their applications to see him. The Governor would not yield the question of free communications with Longwood, but consented to give them copies of the bulletins which he received from the surgeon. This circumstance was the beginning of a serious and personal quarrel with Dr. O'Meara."[1] All these assertions are untrue. Napoleon's illness, instead of exciting extreme anxiety for three days, was very

[1] Récits, vol. ii. pp. 92-94.

slight: he only complained on the 2nd, and was perfectly well on the 3rd. He took no calomel, nor any other medicine. No discussion occurred with the Foreign Commissioners; and the quarrel about bulletins did not arise until many months afterwards.

The account which O'Meara gives of Napoleon's health at this period in his 'Voice from St. Helena,'[1] under date the 2nd of March, is the following:—"Saw Napoleon in his dressing-room, lying on his sofa. He was rather low-spirited, looked pale, and complained of diarrhœa .... 3rd March: Saw Napoleon dressing. Free from any complaint. In very high spirits. Laughed and quizzed me about some young ladies, and asked me to give him all the little news of the town." And he wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe a letter, dated Longwood, March 5th, 1817, in which speaking of Bonaparte, he says, "He had on the 2nd of this month a slight diarrhœa, which, however, had a salutary tendency, and has since ceased without any medicine having been used, or any necessity for it. Yesterday he was very cheerful, and in better spirits than I have, I think, ever seen him before."

The Tortoise store-ship, which left England on the 18th of December, arrived at St. Helena on the 5th of March, and brought the Governor several despatches from Earl Bathurst. In the midst of his harassing and anxious duties, it was gratifying to Sir Hudson Lowe to find that his conduct was warmly approved of by the English Government. In a letter dated October, 1816, Lord Bathurst said,—

"I am commanded to convey to you his Royal Highness's entire approbation of your conduct under the difficult circumstances in which you have been recently placed, in consequence of the intemperance

[1] Vol. i. p. 399.

of General Buonaparte, the general insubordination of his attendants, and the insolence of General Bertrand in his late communications with you.[1] I have much satisfaction in believing that whatever doubts you may have felt as to the mode in which you were required to conduct yourself towards the attendants of General Buonaparte under similar circumstances will have been effectually removed by my despatch of the 17th of July, and I have little doubt but that upon its receipt (unless, indeed, the subsequent conduct of General Bertrand should have been such as to atone for the impropriety of that which forms the subject of your despatch) you will have at once removed him from St. Helena. I have, indeed, reason to believe that it is the wish of General Bertrand to leave the island, and that the real object of his late conduct has been to provoke a compulsory removal, and thus to reconcile his present abandonment of General Buonaparte with his former professions of devotion and attachment. With respect to General Buonaparte himself, I deem it unnecessary to give you any further instruction. I am confident that your own disposition will prompt you to anticipate the wishes of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and make every allowance which the effect of so sudden a change of situation cannot fail to produce on a person of his irritable

[1] The French officers had flattered themselves that Sir Hudson Lowe's conduct was condemned by Ministers. Under the date of the 21st of February, 1817, Count Montholon says, "O'Meara told us that there was a report in the town that the Governor had received despatches of high importance for us, and that he was strongly blamed by his Government for having given cause for our complaints, which had excited public opinion in our favour." And again, on the 7th of March, "The Commissioners whom General Gourgaud met in his walk said that the English Ministers had censured Sir Hudson Lowe, and that there was a question of sending back Sir George Cockburn to St. Helena. The Emperor rejoiced at this news."—*Récits*, vol. ii. pp. 87, 95.

temper. You will, however, not permit your forbearance or generosity towards him to interfere with any regulations which may have been established for preventing his escape, or which you may hereafter consider necessary for the better security of his person. With respect to the expenditure of General Buonaparte's household, you are correct in supposing that the estimate of 8000*l.* a-year was made with reference to a probable reduction of the numbers originally attached to it; as the contemplated reduction may not have taken place, I am aware that an increased expenditure is required, and I therefore see no objection to authorising such additional expense as you may deem necessary, but on no account exceeding 4000*l.* Should it not be in your power otherwise to bring the expenses within this limit, and should General Buonaparte still decline bearing, as originally proposed, the excess above that sum, there will remain no other alternative than that of putting the establishment upon fixed allowances, so as to bring the charge within the specified limits."

In another despatch, dated November 22, 1816, which arrived at the same time, Lord Bathurst said that, in prescribing first the sum of 8000*l.* a-year, and afterwards that of 12,000*l.*, as the limit within which it would be proper to confine the annual charge of Bonaparte's establishment, he had acted under an impression that those sums would, under the arrangements then in contemplation, be adequate to provide for him every comfort and convenience which could be suggested by a liberal consideration of his present as compared with his former situation. He then added,—"The papers enclosed in your despatch appear satisfactorily to prove the present inadequacy even of the augmented allowance of 12,000*l.*, and I

have therefore no difficulty in authorising you to incur on General Buonaparte's account such additional charge as may be necessary to provide against any reduction in the expenditure of which he can reasonably complain. In giving you, however, this discretionary power, I must beg you to pay the utmost attention to an economical administration of the expense, and to use your constant endeavour to make such arrangements for reducing as far as may be practicable the present high price of provisions, which, while it increases the demand upon this country, presses with no less severity upon the inhabitants of the island. Should General Buonaparte require any additional articles of luxury, the expense will of course be to be defrayed from such funds as he may himself have the means of providing. But you will take care so to regulate these expenses that they may not interfere with a due regard to your authority, nor in any manner endanger the safe custody of General Buonaparte's person."

At the same time Lord Bathurst, in a separate despatch, adverted to the proposition made by Bonaparte to procure remittances on his own account for defraying the expenses of his establishment, provided he might have the liberty of carrying on the correspondence necessary for that purpose uncontrolled by any examination of his letters.

Lord Bathurst said,—

"If he can establish a correspondence in Europe by which he may obtain an uncontrolled command of the vast funds which there is every reason to believe might be thus placed at his disposal, it would be useless to persist in requiring an examination of his correspondence on other subjects, as it would be at

once in his power to select whatever it was essential for his own purposes to withhold. Unless, therefore, you can so qualify the condition as not to be exposed to such an abuse of the indulgence, it will be fit to persist in the refusal of it; and I have the less reluctance in directing you not to accede to it, as, under the instructions which accompany this despatch, it will not be necessary for General Buonaparte to come upon his own funds to supply himself with what he can reasonably demand."

But in a private letter to Sir Hudson Lowe of the same date his Lordship told him, if it should appear to him advisable to give a modified consent to Bonaparte's request, "you may consider yourself at liberty to inform General Buonaparte that you will undertake to transmit one sealed letter without examination to this country, in order to be forwarded to the mercantile house in England to which it may be addressed, provided that your remission in this case be not considered as authorising a general permission to carry on such correspondence, and that the sum drawn for be intimated to you at the time, and that its disposal in the island be subjected to your approbation."

And in another private letter, dated the 14th of December, Lord Bathurst observed, with reference to Napoleon's proposition to adopt another name,—

"On the subject of General Buonaparte's proposition I probably shall not give you any instruction. It appears harsh to refuse it, and there may arise much embarrassment in formally acquiescing in it. You will not, therefore, encourage any renewal of the conversation. As the proposition was not made by authority, no official answer need be given. I cannot

conclude without assuring you that the zeal and activity which you show in the discharge of a most invidious and highly responsible duty meets with the approbation of the Government, and of none more belonging to it than, dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

"BATHURST."

The embarrassment here alluded to by Lord Bathurst seems to have been that which might arise from a recognition of Bonaparte's right to assume an *incognito*, which is the privilege of monarchs; for, as the British Government firmly refused to acknowledge him as Emperor, they did not wish to sanction what appeared to be claimed as an incident of sovereignty. This may explain what at first sight looks like indifference on the part of the Ministry to Napoleon's wishes in a matter of no political importance.

By the same vessel a despatch arrived from Mr. Goulburn, the Under Secretary of State, who informed Sir Hudson Lowe that Lord Bathurst entirely approved of his having, under the circumstances stated in the Governor's letter, detained the book sent to St. Helena by Mr. Hobhouse.

Sir Pulteney Malcolm had a long interview with Napoleon on the 7th of March, and his account of what took place is very interesting.[1] It is, therefore, here introduced at length.

"TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

"My dear Sir, "St. Helena, March 8, 1817.

"Yesterday I had an interview with Bonaparte. He had been reading the English papers that you had sent him, and was in good spirits. We conversed on

[1] O'Meara does not notice the Admiral's visit. Count Montholon (*Récits*, vol. ii. p. 96) says they talked a long time in the garden on the state of France, and he gives part of Napoleon's conversation on that subject.

various subjects arising from them. He inquired if the Commissioners had received any letters by the store-ship. I replied in the affirmative. 'Will they, then, see me as individuals?' I did not know, nor did I believe they had ever expressed a desire to see him as such. He said that the Russian had not any objections: 'his expressions in the request that was made to me to see them as Commissioners was different from the others.' He then complained of the late Restrictions much in the same terms as he had stated to you in writing, except that he added that the people who are with him had agreed to conform to the restrictions imposed on himself, but they were now subject to some from which he was exempt, alluding to the ride by Miss Mason's. He also said that by the Bill of Parliament the Ministers were empowered to confine him under certain restrictions; it was for them to say what they should be; but they could not give that power to others. I answered, they certainly could to the Governor. He contended that, if they gave it to the Governor, he could also to his aide-de-camp. This I would not allow. He said you had refused to permit Count Las Cases to see him before his departure unless in the presence of an officer; he allowed that there might be consequences in granting this permission, but not so great as the indecorum of refusing it. I replied that Las Cases had the option to remain at St. Helena. He answered that he could not accept of it, as he had been humbled by the conduct that had been observed towards him. I said that Las Cases had offended against the laws, and therefore that there was not any hardship in his case. He then said that he was prevented from seeing the Austrian botanist[1] before he quitted the island.

[1] Mr. Welle. See p. 47, *ante*.

'This man,' he added, 'came from, and was going to, the place where my wife and child resided.' I answered, that person had also acted contrary to the law, and could not be permitted to see him. Bonaparte then apologized to me for speaking on these subjects, as he knew that they were not agreeable, but that he had been inadvertently led on to do so. I said that the restriction had been modified to please him, and that I was certain that you had every desire to render his situation as pleasant as circumstances would admit. He replied that he could not think so; for before the sailing of the Orontes he was preparing a letter to be sent to the English Ministers for the Regent, when a proposition was made, through Dr. O'Meara, that I should mediate an arrangement of the differences that subsisted between you and him, in consequence of which he did not send the letter; and yet nothing has been done. I answered, this circumstance was unknown to me; but, as ships were at that time expected from England, I supposed that you had delayed speaking of it till you could learn the sentiments of Ministers on the events that were the cause of the restrictions being put on. I then observed that, in my opinion, most of the misunderstandings that had arisen were from misrepresentations and misconceptions, from the want of a free personal communication. Bonaparte replied, 'Perhaps it was so. The Governor does not understand my character: he has never seen me but when I was irritated, and when I spoke folly.' I replied that I thought he also misunderstood yours; that, if he had an amicable conversation with you, he would find you possessed considerable talents, had great attainments, and a particular knowledge of the events of the period in which he had been so conspicuous. Perhaps you were at first a

little quick; but from all I heard and knew, that you possessed a kind heart. You will forgive me for having been so particular on this point. He spoke of Lord Bathurst's hate towards him, and said he believed he was a bad man. I told him he was in an error as to his Lordship's private character, for he was esteemed and beloved by those who knew him. I referred him to Archdeacon Bathurst's letter, and the reply (which were in the newspapers on his table), for a true account of his Lordship. He said he had read them. He remarked that for several months very few persons visited Longwood, not even to see Madame Bertrand: the reason was, that they were questioned as to their conversations, which gentlemen did not like. Sir George Bingham was accustomed to visit at Longwood once a week: they had not seen him for months till the other day. I replied that he himself had precluded visitors from Longwood by his letter to the Governor requesting him not to grant passports. He made no answer, but again apologized for the conversation. I never saw him so moderate; and I think, judging from his manner, that any indulgence that you may show him will be well received. As far as I can recollect this is the substance of all that passed that had the smallest relation to Bonaparte's situation at St. Helena. On this, and every other occasion, I have always made it a duty to inform you of his sentiments on that subject, as expressed to me in our conversations. I have the honour, &c.

"PULT^Y. MALCOLM.

"I have omitted to state that, in speaking of the letters written by Counts Bertrand and Montholon, I said that neither you nor Sir George Cockburn, in my opinion, had taken sufficient notice of such improper

letters. I was satisfied that, when he was in power, he would have been very angry with any of his governors who had conducted themselves in so lenient a manner as you had done towards those who, by their indecorous language, had insulted Government. He replied that allowances should be made for their particular situations.[1] I answered that it was not difficult to be civil when writing from the closet."

To this letter Sir Hudson Lowe replied a few days afterwards; and, after thanking Sir Pulteney for the favourable manner in which he had spoken of him to Napoleon, he said,—

"In ascribing, however, to me a certain quickness of temper, I am willing to suppose you did not refer to any circumstance of my personal communications with him. It would, I think, have been failing greatly towards a person in his situation to show it. I dare appeal to your own recollection of the only conversation you witnessed between us, whether, in the opening of it, the progress, or the close, anything of this manner was apparent in me. If I gave way to the expression of indignant feeling at the extraordinary language and accusations with which he attacked me, it was, to the best of my own judgment, neither too unprovokedly nor quickly uttered. I am the more particular on this point, as it is the only time you saw us together. I come now to a further part, where Bonaparte observed few persons visited Longwood, not even to see Madame Bertrand—'*the reason was, they were questioned as to the conversation, which gentle-*

[1] Napoleon, however, did not state that *he himself* was in fact the author of the letters alluded to, they having been written from his dictation.

men did not like.' He has himself, as you very justly observed, excluded all visits to Longwood for these six months past by the letter he caused to be addressed to me; and since that period you are almost the only English person who has had any long conversations with him. But when visitors did go, I was not in the habit of troubling them with interrogations, and can boldly appeal to every person who has been admitted to visit at Longwood, or the Bertrands, for the delicacy I have observed on this point. I should not, however, the less expect, if anything important for me to learn was said, that it should be made known to me. If I thought reserve practised, I would not hesitate to question—considering any conversation had with General Bonaparte, or the persons of his suite, which has relation to my duties on this island, or embraces any subject of *political interest*, ought, as a matter of course, to be communicated to me, as well from regard to the situation I fill here, as to the confidence which Government has reposed in me, being at the same time rendered by their instructions the responsible person for all conversations with him. I am perhaps the more particular on this point on account of the difficulty his conduct has thrown in the way of my own relations with him. Sir George Bingham visited Longwood, even after the letter requesting me to give no further passports. He did not repeat his visits, because Bonaparte held an improper style of communication before him; and I feel infinitely obliged to him for marking his sense of it in so proper a manner. The manner in which you expressed your opinion to General Bonaparte of the notice taken by Sir George Cockburn and myself of the letters addressed to us by Counts Bertrand and Montholon will have impressed him with your disapprobation of their conduct, and

perhaps in this way may have some good effect. I have not before me the letters of Sir George Cockburn, nor do I know the motives that dictated his reply. The only letter of any significance which I received from Count Bertrand was not, as well as I recollect, shown to you, nor my reply: I shall have much pleasure in showing them. You will, I think, say I could not go much further. Supposing I had resolved on sending Count Bertrand away, what was to be done with his wife and children—she on the point of lying in, and unable to move? The letter you saw with me from Count Montholon was written by the express commands and dictation of General Bonaparte. The Count, however, by no means escaped notice for it; but until I received instructions on such a point I was careful it should not be of such a nature as to forward and assist the particular object for which General Bonaparte made him write it. Besides, if I had sent him away, what was to be done with the Countess, in the same situation as Madame Bertrand? Count Las Cases' case was very different: acts in direct violation of the law, clandestine and insidious, were those which he attempted, and the example properly fell on him who was working most in the dark. Whatever was the system pursued with the others, they have evidently both amended it. On the whole, Sir, I beg leave to express my best acknowledgments for the obligingness and interest of your communication to me. I cannot be more desirous than I always have been to yield every indulgence to General Bonaparte that my instructions can possibly admit. I have modified some of the restrictions, and have tried, as you know, to do the same with others, but the principle of the Regulations must remain the same. What is really irksome in them arises, you must be

sensible, more from his own manner of viewing and acting upon them than from any positive restraint the Rules themselves impose. It rests, therefore, in a great measure, upon himself to render them easy. He will never find me backward in assisting him to lighten them where an ulterior object is not in view."

It is, I think, impossible not to admire the tone of this letter, and the generous anxiety of Sir Hudson Lowe to vindicate himself from the imputation of having shown temper in dealing with one who stood towards him in the peculiar relation of Napoleon. Sir Pulteney Malcolm's reply was very satisfactory. He said,—

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day's date, and beg to assure you that my remark on the quickness of your temper did not refer to any circumstance that occurred at your personal conversations with Bonaparte, for both the times that I was present I admired the coolness and the readiness of your replies. In speaking my sentiments of your general character I made use of the expression that I stated to you in my letter of the 8th instant, and, as I had done so, I would not conceal it from you, as it is my maxim in life to be open and candid on all subjects."

Sir Hudson Lowe thanked the Admiral for his explanation of the remark made to Bonaparte about his temper, and added,—

"So long as he did not regard it in the light of an acknowledgment made to him I am quite at ease about it, otherwise as it stood it might have favoured one of the most unfounded accusations he has attempted to bring against me."

The Governor did not fail to send a copy of Sir Pulteney Malcolm's letter to Earl Bathurst, and pointed out that, if he had acted towards Count Bertrand and Count Montholon in the stringent manner suggested by the Admiral, he would have fallen under the species of reproach and attack which Sir Pulteney himself seemed solicitous for him on other occasions to avoid. He added, in a spirit of fairness and candour,—

"Whatever may have been the system pursued, nothing can possibly be more quiet and orderly than they all now seem to be; and I wish to acknowledge particularly the right and correct line of conduct that the Countess Bertrand, as well indeed as Countess Montholon, have invariably maintained, and which has been, indeed, such as would have justly exposed me to the reproach of inhumanity and want of attention to female delicacy had I separated their husbands from them in the comfortless situation they would have been left, both at the time at the point of lying in, and *literally* unable to move."

On the 14th of this month Sir Hudson wrote to Count Bertrand a note, enclosing his observations in answer to Napoleon's remarks on the regulations as altered in October, 1816. These observations were afterwards constantly spoken of by the French exiles as restrictions, although that name is wholly inappropriate. They were rather a relaxation of restrictions, but their chief object was explanation.[1]

In the early part of the year 1816 a book had appeared in England,[2] written by Mr. Warden, surgeon

[1] They will be found in No. 45 of the Letters and Documents of the preceding volume.

[2] 'Letters written on board H.M.S. the Northumberland and at St. Helena, &c. London.' (No date.)

on board the Northumberland, who having, while at St. Helena, been called in to attend General Gourgaud during an attack of illness, thus obtained access to Longwood, and afterwards published an account of its inmates and of conversations which he professed to have had with Napoleon. The work, however, was utterly undeserving of credit. General Gourgaud, in a letter to his mother, dated the 17th of March, 1816, called it a "mere tissue of falsehoods" (*un vrai tissu de mensonges*), and Count Las Cases described it as "very erroneous."[1] Two copies were sent to the Governor of St. Helena, which he received in the month of March, 1817, and, as several extracts from the book had appeared in the newspapers, which he thought would excite the curiosity of Bonaparte, he forwarded one of them to him. Writing to Lord Bathurst, on the 29th of that month, he mentioned that he had on the preceding day called on Madame Bertrand at Longwood, when she entered fully on the subject of Dr. Warden's publication, and he said, "Nothing can exceed the ridicule and contemptuous indignation with which the work is treated." And in a letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, on the 10th of March, O'Meara thus describes Bonaparte's opinion of it:—

"I then asked him what he thought of Warden's book. He replied, 'The foundation of it is true; but in it there are *cento coglionerie e cento bugie* (a hundred absurdities and a hundred lies). He has badly understood Las Cases, who I see now does not understand English. I see that he cannot translate the meaning of French words into English; for in that work there are several misrepresentations, which no doubt arose from his having badly explained himself, because the

[1] Journal, April, 1817.

other could not speak French. He has put down a hundred things *a torto ed a traverso*. He has acted wrong also in making me speak; for he puts down almost everything as if I had been speaking all the time, or as if he could have understood me. He has put into my mouth expressions unworthy of me, and not at all in my style. Any person who knows me will easily see that it is not my style. Three-fourths of what he [represents he] has heard me say never came out of my mouth."[1]

And yet in England this worthless book was relied on as an authority. It went through several editions, and the 'Edinburgh Review' said it was a book which "we can safely recommend to our readers as one of the few works on Napoleon that is neither sullied by adulation nor disgraced by scurrility."[2] The 'Quarterly,' however, denounced the work as founded in falsehood; described the author as a "blundering, presumptuous, and falsifying scribbler;" and exposed his numerous errors and misrepresentations with acuteness and ability.[3] That he deserved the severe criticism with which he is there handled there can now be no doubt, but it is melancholy to think that such catchpenny publications should have been palmed off upon the world as authentic records of Napoleon's captivity, and that this kind of evidence should still influence men's minds in judging of the conduct of the British Government and Sir Hudson Lowe towards him.

In a despatch of the 18th of March to Earl Bathurst,

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[1] See also the 'Voice,' vol. i. pp. 415, 416. In a private letter to Lord Bathurst, on the 3rd of April, 1817, Sir Hudson Lowe said,—"General Bonaparte has not ceased to talk of Mr. Warden's book. He says, one cannot read ten pages in it without saying, 'Voilà un fat!'"

[2] No. LIV., Dec. 1816.

[3] No. XXXI., Oct. 1816; and see No. XXXII., Jan. 1817, pp. 486, 487.

Sir Hudson Lowe, after commenting at considerable length upon the surgeon's misstatements, said,—

"The object for which Mr. Warden's book has been ushered to the world is sufficiently obvious. In the preface he says it has owed its publicity to the persecutions of his friends at home. It may be of some importance to your Lordship to be informed his intention of publishing something was known before he left St. Helena; and to one gentleman in particular he said that the reason why he supposed General Bonaparte communicated with him so fully on certain points of his life was because he considered him as the channel through which *favourable* accounts might reach the British public. In the pursuit of such an object, *avowed* by the individual who lent himself to it, any reflection by which discredit might be cast upon the officer under whose particular custody the person to be thus favoured was placed presented itself as a natural means to be availed of, and General Bonaparte seems to have found in Mr. Warden an instrument even outstepping his own immediate views. This person was at the time in the service of Government, and had obtained access to Longwood only through the ostensible pretext of his professional duties."

In a letter of the 23rd of March Sir Hudson Lowe again thus alluded to Mr. Warden's publication:—

"Your Lordship cannot avoid being struck with the prodigious effrontery of Mr. Warden's attempt to impose upon the credulity of the British public with the relation of long conversations that never occurred between two persons that had no knowledge of each other's language,—it appearing the book is almost wholly made up of stories collected at his secret meetings with Las Cases, or of garbled interpretations on

the part of the latter of what General Bonaparte said; whilst Mr. Warden's relation of his own part of the long conversations he had bears evident internal marks of after composition."

During the month of March O'Meara made several written communications to the Governor of conversations which he had with Bonaparte, and with a few variations and additions they correspond with those he has published in his work. They are, however, of sufficient interest to bear repetition. On the 15th of March O'Meara wrote,—

"In the course of a conversation[1] which took place between General Bonaparte and myself touching the famous inscription upon General Gourgaud's sword, purporting that he had on a certain day and place saved General Bonaparte from being killed by a Cossack (a circumstance which General Bonaparte positively contradicts, and declares *never* occurred), I took an opportunity of asking him if he had ever been really in danger of being either killed or taken by the Cossacks. His reply was, 'At the battle of Brienne.' 'Brienne!' I repeated, with some surprise. 'Yes, Brienne, in France,' said he. 'I recollect that about twenty or twenty-five Uhlans, not Cossacks, got round one of the wings of my army, and there endeavoured to fall upon some of the artillery. It was at the close of day, and just commencing to be dark. They stumbled some how or another upon me and some of my état-majeur. When they saw us they were quite lost, and did not know what to do. They did not, however,

[1] This conversation is given in nearly the same words in the 'Voice,' vol. i. pp. 427–430; but O'Meara does not there say that it commenced on the subject of the inscription on General Gourgaud's sword, to which he does not allude.

know that they were so near to me, nor, indeed, who I was; neither did I myself, for some time, know who they were. I thought they were some of my own troops. Caulincourt, however, perceived who they were, and called out to me, "Sire, we are amongst enemies." Just at this moment these Uhlans, frightened, and not knowing where they were, began to fly and endeavour to escape in all directions, and my staff began to fire upon them here and there. One of them galloped so close to me, without knowing me however, as to touch my knee violently with his hand. At first I thought that he was one of my own staff who was riding roughly by me, and actually raised my hand with an intention of giving him a slap in the face; but, looking round, I perceived that he was an enemy. I then put my hand down to draw one of my pistols from the holsters in order to fire at him; but the moment was past—he was gone. He had a spear in his hand at the charge; but it was with the other hand he touched me in brushing violently past me. Whether he was killed or not I do not know. This day I drew my sword, which was a circumstance that very seldom occurred, as I gained battles, you know, by my eye, and not by my arm. These Uhlans were, I believe, entirely, or nearly so, cut to pieces afterwards.' I then asked him if he thought that he had been in any *very great peril* that day. He replied, 'No, not at all—it was an accident entirely. My cavalry was in another part of the field at the time; it was entirely an accident. It is possible, certainly, that I might have been killed; but they thought more of running away themselves than of killing any of us.' I then asked him if he had ever been really in danger of being either taken or killed by the Cossacks during his retreat from Russia. He replied, 'No, I never

was. I had always with me a guard sufficiently strong to repel any attack from them, or to admit of any apprehension as to the result in case of an attack being made by them.'"

In his Journal of the 24th of March, O'Meara says that "Napoleon complained of swellings in his legs," for which he recommended some simple remedies. In his letter to Sir Hudson Lowe on the 25th his account is this:—

"He yesterday complained of a papillose eruption of a trifling nature in his legs, which, however, did not affect his general health or spirits. He was in very good humour, and laughed very heartily[1] on reading the 'Secret Memoirs' of himself, written by a person who had been fifteen years about him. On seeing a book entitled 'The State of France under Napoleon Bonaparte,' he observed that the author of it, M. Pichon, had been Consul in America, and had been disgraced by him for having defrauded him of three millions, a part of which he was obliged to refund; 'for,' continued he, 'I was extremely particular with the consuls and other commercial agents with respect to their accounts, which I caused them to furnish to myself, and always examined them most minutely myself. This Pichon, after my return from

[1] In the 'Voice' (vol. i. p. 456) nothing is said of Napoleon being then in "good humour," or "laughing heartily;" but on the next day, the 25th, O'Meara says Napoleon's legs were "much better: in very good spirits" (ibid. p. 457). We may here notice another discrepancy in the accounts of Napoleon's health and spirits in March, 1817. On the 16th, says Count Montholon (Récits vol. ii. p. 98), "the Emperor has passed a bad night, and is suffering much ('très souffrant'); however the news of the arrival of the fleet from China makes him resolve to dress himself," &c. On the 16th, says O'Meara (Voice, vol. i. p. 434), "Saw the Emperor in the drawing-room: he was in extremely good spirits, laughed repeatedly, joked me," &c.

Elba (after he had published this libel), was sent by me to London as a *spy*—at least he was so far sent by me as that I suffered and even recommended it, as, though he was a *rascal* (coquin), yet he had some *esprit*. He was sent in order to report about the state of affairs and public opinion in London, the plans of the Ministers, and to pick up all the information he could about the state, numbers, &c., of Wellington's army in Belgium—in fact, to collect all the information he could, as he, from his writings, would be less suspected than others.'[1] He walked out yesterday beyond the stables into the park for some time, and was in very good spirits."

On the 28th of March O'Meara wrote,—

"In the course of a conversation, a few days back,[2] with General Bonaparte respecting our late embassy to China, on being informed by me that Lord Amherst had refused to comply with some humiliating ceremonies required of him (the nature of which I explained to him), he observed, 'that he thought the English Ministers had acted wrong in not having ordered Lord Amherst to comply with the custom of the place he was sent to, or that they ought not to have sent him at all.' I replied, that I thought the English would have considered it as debasing the nation if Lord Amherst had consented to prostrate himself in the humiliating manner required; that, if such a point had been conceded to the Chinese, in all probability they would not have been contented there, but would subsequently require similar ceremonies to those in-

[1] The particular objects of Pichon's *espionage* are omitted in the 'Voice' (vol. i. p. 457).

[2] This conversation is abridged in the 'Voice,' (vol. i. pp. 469-473).

sisted upon by the Japanese, and complied with so disgracefully by the Dutch; that, besides, Lord Amherst had offered to render the same obeisance to the Emperor as he would have done to his own King. He replied, 'It is quite a different thing. One is a mere ceremony performed by all the great men of the nation to their chief, and the other was a national degradation required of strangers, and of strangers *only*. It is my opinion that whatever is the custom of a nation, and is practised by the first characters of that nation towards their chief, cannot degrade strangers who perform the same. Different nations have different customs. In England, at Court, you kiss the King's hand. Such a thing in France would be considered ridiculous, and the persons who did it held up to public scorn; but still the French ambassador who did so in England would not be considered as having degraded himself by so doing. In England, some hundred years back, the King was served kneeling; the same ceremony now takes place in Spain. In Italy you kiss the Pope's toe; yet no person is considered degraded by having done so. A man going into a country must comply with the ceremonies in use there; and it would have been no degradation whatever for Lord Amherst to have submitted to such ceremonies before the Emperor of China as are performed by the first mandarin of that empire. You say that he was willing to render such respect as that paid to your own King. You have no right to send a man to China to tell them that they must perform such and such ceremonies because such are practised in England. Suppose now, for example's sake, that it was the custom in England, instead of kissing the King's hand, that he should . . . . . .
. . . . . .

. . . ! Why, then, the Emperor of China, forsooth, must . . . . . because it was the practice in England! If I,' continued he, 'had sent an ambassador to China, I would have ordered him to make himself acquainted with the ceremonies performed before the Emperor by the first mandarin, and to do the same himself, if required. I would either have done this, or not sent one at all. Now, perhaps, through this piece of "coglioneria," you will lose the friendship of a flourishing nation, and great commercial advantages.' I said that we could easily compel the Chinese to good terms by means of a few ships of war; that, for example, we could deprive them altogether of salt by two or three cruizers properly stationed. He replied, 'To go to war with an immense empire like China, possessing so many resources and so distant from you, would be the worst thing you have done for a series of years. They would be compelled to adopt measures to defend themselves against you, and you would teach them their own strength. They would get artificers and shipbuilders, and everything else necessary, from France, America, and even from *London*, and in the course of time defeat you.[1] If I,' continued he, 'had anything to do with your Cabinet, I would strongly oppose such a ruinous measure.' Shortly afterwards I entered upon the subject of universal dominion with him and his meditated views upon England. I said that we had thought for a length of time that nothing short of universal dominion would have satisfied his ambition, and that it was his positive intention to have united England to France as a province. He replied, 'As to universal dominion, I certainly aimed at rendering France the most

[1] The remainder of the conversation given in the text is omitted in the 'Voice.'

powerful of all; but so far from desiring more, it was my intention to have formed Italy into an independent kingdom, and to have given it to my second son, as I had hopes of having another. There are natural bounds to France which I did not intend to pass. With respect to uniting England to France, I had no idea of the kind.' Here I observed that he had said to me that *perhaps* he might have done so if he had succeeded in his invasion. He replied, 'No, no; you must have misunderstood me. I intended, if I had succeeded in my projected descent, to have abolished the monarchy, and to have established a republic. I would have separated Ireland from England, and made her an independent republic. I would have made them both republics, and independent of each other. I would have sown the seeds of republicanism in their "morale," and then left them to themselves to manage things between them as well as they could. As to annexing England to France, upon mature deliberation I conceived that it would have been impossible to have united two nations so dissimilar in ideas, and that it would have been as difficult to effect as to have brought together India and Europe.' He also said that, after Amiens, he would have concluded a *good peace* with England—that is to say, a peace which would establish the commercial relations of the two countries upon a similar and equal footing: for example, that, if a million in value of English colonial or other goods was taken by France, the value of a million in French products should in like manner be taken by England."

On sending the preceding letter to Earl Bathurst, Sir Hudson Lowe remarked,—

"Though the accompanying letter contains some expressions that, under any other possible circumstances,

I could never presume to present to your Lordship's perusal, yet the fidelity with which they are given, and their great originality, will, I hope, plead my excuse for the transmission. Dr. O'Meara had informed me of the conversations that had occurred; and, with that readiness he always manifests on such occasions, immediately wrote them down for me."

The reports of the orderly officer during this month show that Bonaparte at this time did not neglect walking exercise, and that his health was good. Thus:—

"March 5. General Bonaparte was in the garden for some time yesterday evening: appeared to be in very good spirits. Madame Bertrand is much pleased with the piano. 26th. General Bonaparte was out for an hour and a half yesterday evening. Walked in the woods with the two ladies, and afterwards sat in the front of the house until after sunset."

To the transactions in March must be added three instances of gross misconduct on the part of British subjects, which have been recently brought to light by the revelations of Count Montholon. He says that, when Napoleon wished to send some notes to Europe which he had written on Mr. Warden's book, he took advantage of the offer of an officer of the garrison who was returning to England;[1] and that on another occasion the captain of an East-Indiaman, who had been presented at Longwood, proposed to place his ship at Bonaparte's disposal for his escape. About the same time an officer of the garrison suggested a plan for Napoleon's evasion, the success of which, according to Montholon, was certain, and the details are given.[2]

[1] Récits, vol. ii. p. 97.

[2] Ibid., p. 100.

And yet the historians of the Captivity complain of the needless severity of the Regulations!

On the 17th of March an important debate took place in the House of Lords respecting the treatment of Bonaparte. The newspapers containing the speeches of Lord Holland and Lord Bathurst, on that occasion, reached St. Helena in June; and Napoleon dictated some severe remarks upon the speech of the latter, which were afterwards published, and are given at the end of the volume, together with Sir Hudson Lowe's comments upon them.

CHAPTER XIV.

STORY OF THE BUST OF NAPOLEON'S SON — MR. ELPHINSTONE'S PRESENT, AND CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING IT — SANTINI'S PAMPHLET, 'APPEAL TO THE BRITISH NATION'—NEWSPAPERS AT LONGWOOD — PROPOSAL THAT ADMIRAL SIR PULTENEY MALCOLM SHOULD MEDIATE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NAPOLEON AND THE GOVERNOR — ARRIVAL OF ADMIRAL PLAMPIN — LORD AMHERST'S INTERVIEW WITH BONAPARTE — INTERROGATORY OF CAPTAIN POPPLETON, THE ORDERLY OFFICER.

FEW incidents occurred in April or May this year, and hardly any which would interest the reader. Bonaparte sometimes amused himself with chess, and at the end of March played two games with Lady Malcolm, who had the honour of winning the first from him. He used to walk in the evening, and, returning home, sat in front of the house until it was dusk. When the races took place he was a spectator of them through his spy-glass, and, seeing Captain Poppleton pass by, sent Count Montholon to ask him who was the winner. On the 11th of May O'Meara writes to Sir Thomas Reade and tells him that the weather is very bad, but that Bonaparte is in very good humour; and a day or two afterwards he acknowledges the receipt of some oranges, which he says he has sent in to Napoleon, and knows that nothing can be more acceptable. He adds that General Gourgaud was quite in raptures with a lady who had paid them a visit, and that Madame Bertrand pronounced her to be a perfect Frenchwoman in appearance, "which is the *ne plus ultra* of compliment from a Frenchwoman."

But these friendly and gossiping communications from O'Meara were soon to come to an end, and the quarrels between him and the Governor were not far distant which converted him into an enemy, and in after years produced the 'Voice from St. Helena,' in which he so amply avenged himself. We must, however, now advert to a circumstance which happened about this time, and which, from the use made of it to damage the character of Sir Hudson Lowe, is of some importance.

It was one of the cruel misrepresentations to which he was exposed that he had thrown unnecessary and vexatious obstacles in the way of Napoleon receiving a marble bust of his son, the young Duc de Reichstadt, and had even suggested that it should be destroyed to prevent it from reaching Longwood. Nothing can be more unfair than the way in which O'Meara insinuates the truth of the former of these charges. After quoting a passionate speech of Napoleon about the statue not having been sent, when he said, "I have been informed that he has been deliberating about it, and also that his Prime Minister Reade ordered it to be broken. I suppose that he has been consulting with that little Major (Gorrequer), who has pointed out to him that it would brand his name with ignominy for ever, or that his wife has read him a lecture at night about the atrocity of such a proceeding. He has done enough, however, to dishonour his name by retaining it, and by even allowing a doubt to exist of its being sent up"—O'Meara adds in a note, "The bust had been in the island for fourteen days, during several of which it was at Plantation House,"[1]—thus plainly leaving it to be inferred that the alleged delay was

[1] Voice, vol. ii. p. 100.

attributable to Sir Hudson Lowe. But the statement is simply untrue. *The bust was landed on the 10th or 11th of June and sent to Longwood the next day.* The following is a narrative of what really happened:[1]—

It is not quite clear how the bust was made. One account states that, the ex-Empress Maria Louisa having visited the baths of Leghorn in the summer of 1816, accompanied by her son, a portrait of him was taken, from which two marble busts were executed. Prince Esterhazy, however, informed Lord Bathurst that "the likeness of the young prince could not have been taken in Italy, as he never left Vienna since his arrival there." At all events the bust in question was purchased by Messrs. Beaggini in London, in hopes that a favourable opportunity might occur for transmitting it to St. Helena. It happened that a vessel, the Baring, commanded by Captain Lamb, was about to sail there in January, 1817, on board which was a foreign sailor named Rethwick or Radovitch[2] in the capacity of gunner, and to him Messrs. Beaggini confided the bust, with instructions that he was to endeavour to give it to Count Bertrand for Napoleon, and to make no stipulation for any payment, but leave it to the generosity of "the Emperor" to refund their expenses. If, however, Bonaparte wished to know the price, he was to ask 100 louis for the bust. Captain Lamb had no knowledge of the matter until shortly before or immediately after the arrival of his ship at St. Helena on the 28th of May. At that

[1] As this is just one of those incidents which take hold of the public mind, and it has been made a prominent topic of reproach against Sir Hudson Lowe, the letters and documents which prove the truth of the narrative in the text are given at the end of the volume.

[2] The name is written both ways, and it occurs also as "Retherwick" and "Radovick." The man himself was unable to write, and put his mark to the documents he signed.

time Rethwick was ill from a fit of apoplexy, which was succeeded by delirium, so that it was for several days impossible to speak to him on the subject. When Sir Thomas Reade was informed that the bust was on board, he immediately went to the Governor and acquainted him with the fact. Sir Hudson Lowe at first hesitated as to the course which his duty required him to take—considering the clandestine manner in which an attempt was thus made to communicate with Napoleon—and he was inclined not to allow the bust to be forwarded until he had communicated with Lord Bathurst on the subject. Sir Thomas Reade however suggested that, as the bust was made of marble and not plaster, so that it could not possibly contain anything improper, it might be forwarded to Longwood at once, and, as its arrival had already become known, Sir Hudson assented to the proposal. Before, however, ordering it to be sent on shore, he went on the 10th of June to Longwood to communicate with Count Bertrand and ascertain Napoleon's wishes. Major Gorrequer accompanied him, and he gives in his Minutes the following account of the interview :—

"The Governor called on Count Bertrand (whither I attended him), and informed him that in the storeship (the Baring) recently arrived there was a marble bust said to be that of the young Napoleon; that it appeared it was brought out by an under officer of the ship; that, although it had come in a very irregular manner, yet, under the impression that it might be a thing acceptable '*à celui* qui résidait à Longwood,' he would take upon himself the responsibility of landing it, if such was his wish; that he requested Count Bertrand would make it known, and inform him if he wished to have it, and it would be brought on shore. He answered, 'Oh! sans doute que ça lui fera plaisir;

envoyez le toujours.' The Governor added, the man in whose charge it came was ill, in fact delirious, and it was impossible to speak to him on the subject. All he knew about it would be found in the two papers (one a letter, the other a memorandum) which he handed over to the Count, who read them (they were in Italian) and returned them. After leaving the house, the Governor went back (I following), and again gave the two papers to the Count, that he might show them to General Bonaparte, begging he afterwards would return them to him, and told Count Bertrand he would have the bust landed the following day."

The next day the bust was landed and sent up to Longwood, where Bonaparte received it with evident satisfaction and delight. He had however been informed of its arrival (how it does not appear) some days previously. On the 10th he had said to O'Meara, "I have known of it for several days. I intended, if it had not been given, to have made such a complaint as would have caused every Englishman's hair to stand on end with horror (*alzáre i capelli*). I would have told a tale which would have made the mothers of England execrate him as a monster in human shape."[1] No one can doubt this—for there was no lack of willingness or of ability for the purpose; but unfortunately for the well-conceived plan of the story, the Governor did not give him the opportunity. But Napoleon persisted in believing, or affecting to believe, that the latter had originally given orders for the destruction of the bust, telling O'Meara, who endeavoured to convince him of the contrary, "that it was in vain to attempt to deny a known fact;" and upon this imaginary hypothesis he broke out into a violent tirade

[1] Voice, vol. ii. p. 99.

against Sir Hudson Lowe, calling him barbarous and atrocious. "That countenance," he exclaimed, gazing at the marble image of his son, "would melt the heart of the most ferocious wild beast. The man who gave orders to break that image would plunge a knife into the heart of the original if it were in his power."[1]

On the 16th Bertrand wrote to thank Captain Lamb, in the name of Napoleon, for bringing out the bust, and requested him to call at Longwood. The Governor informed him that the captain (who was a half-pay lieutenant in the navy) knew nothing about the bust, having been introduced on board his ship, but Bertrand still begged that his note might be sent to him. This was done, and Captain Lamb went to Longwood and had an interview with Bertrand, without seeing Bonaparte. He was asked whether the Governor had not intended to keep back the bust altogether, and whether he had not spoken of breaking it to pieces. To this Captain Lamb properly replied, that if Sir Hudson Lowe had intended to keep it back he need only have mentioned his wish to him, when of course it would not have been landed.[2] Bertrand then expressed a desire to see the man who brought the bust, but was told by Captain Lamb that he was sick.

Shortly afterwards Rethwick, who had been ill for three weeks, recovered, and on the 23rd he wrote to

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[1] Voice, vol. ii pp. 102, 103.

[2] The exact answer of Captain Lamb is given in the text, but he afterwards, on the 24th of July, explicitly denied upon oath that he knew of any direction, or intimation of any design or intention, to break the bust. And yet O'Meara, writing to Mr. Finlaison on the 18th of August, said,—"Although, to tell you the truth, *I did then, and do now, believe that such counsel was really given*—though I acquitted Sir Hudson *himself* of knowing anything about it—yet still *I was extremely anxious*, from obvious reasons, *to convince Bonaparte that it was false*." So that, according to this lover of veracity, he *believed* a report which he laboured to convince another was *false*.

the Governor, inquiring about the bust, and asking permission to go on shore for the purpose of disposing of a few things which he had brought out with him for sale. It happened that Lord Amherst arrived at St. Helena on the 27th, and, when Sir Hudson Lowe knew that Count Bertrand was coming to Plantation House to call upon him, he desired Rethwick to be in attendance, that Bertrand might see and speak to him. This, however, the latter declined to do, but begged that the man might be sent to Longwood. He went there on the 30th, and was accompanied to Bertrand's house by Captain Poppleton, who shall tell what followed in the words of his own report to the Governor:—

"On my arrival at Longwood yesterday evening I found there the man you had mentioned to me that was to be conducted to Count Bertrand. After having perused the letter containing the instructions relative to him I went with him to Count Bertrand's, who at that moment was quitting the house. I told him the man sent by the Governor was there to speak to him; he requested he might wait, as he was then going to General Bonaparte. I sat down with the Countess, and desired the man to remain in the adjoining room. The Countess then said her husband had desired her to ask him some questions. I went into the next room with her, and, after asking him where he came from, and in what manner he obtained the bust, we left him. In a few minutes after the Countess was sent for, and on her return she said she was desired to ask me if they could speak to the man alone. I told her whatever they had to say must be in my presence. The Countess then quitted the room. Shortly after another message was delivered to her, when she told me that, as they could not speak to

this man alone, they had nothing further to say to him. I gave the man some refreshment and sent him away. On entering my own apartment Count Montholon came to me and asked me if they could speak to this man alone. I told him whatever conversation passed must be in my presence (he was sent by General Bonaparte). He then said, 'Can General Bonaparte speak to him without you being present?' I told him General Bonaparte could most undoubtedly speak to him, but that it must be in my presence. Count Montholon carried this answer to the General, and returned again, requesting I would give him my answer in writing. I told him I could not do that without the consent of the Governor. He still pressed me to give this answer in writing, which I refused, saying I would represent what had passed to the Governor, and should then be able to give him an answer to his request."

Now it would really seem to be difficult to extract from these facts matter of blame or censure against Sir Hudson Lowe, whose duty imperatively required him not to allow a *private* interview between any of the French at Longwood and a foreign sailor who had been employed on a clandestine commission. And yet O'Meara contrives in his account to throw odium upon the Governor. He says that Napoleon "directed Count Bertrand to apply for permission to be granted to the gunner to come to Longwood. After some delays and assertions that the man was sick, during which time he was examined on oath at Plantation House, and minutely searched, it was signified to Bertrand that leave was granted to him to go to Longwood. A few minutes after his arrival at Count Bertrand's, and while speaking to the Countess, Captain Poppleton was sent into the room by the

Governor with orders not to allow him to speak to any of the French unless in his presence. This proceeding, combined with the disingenuous manner in which it was executed, was considered as an insult, and the gunner was immediately directed to withdraw."[1] And of course Bertrand pretended to take the same view; but, to give point to the reproach, he did not scruple to tell a direct untruth. He wrote to Rethwick on the 16th, styling him "Mr. Filippo Radovitch, Master Gunner on board the Baring," and enclosed a bill of exchange for 300*l.*, saying, "I regret that you could not come and see us and give us some details, which could not be otherwise than interesting to a father in the present state of things. From the letters you have sent it would appear that the artist values his work at 100*l.* sterling. The Emperor has ordered me to hand you a check for 300*l.*; the balance you will consider as an indemnity for the loss which he knows you have sustained in the sale of your little invoice, in consequence of your not being able to land, and for the vexation you have suffered for an action not only innocent in itself, but which should have entitled you to the consideration of every man of feeling."[2]

[1] Voice, vol. ii. p. 115.

[2] O'Meara says in his appendix to the 'Voice,' vol. ii. p. 464,—"By means of some unworthy tricks the poor man did not receive the money for nearly two years." To this it is sufficient to reply, that on the 16th March, 1819 (a year and eight months after the date of Count Bertrand's letter), a letter arrived at St. Helena, from the proprietors of the bust, to Count Bertrand, stating that they thought it their duty to inform the Count of the bad conduct and character of Rethwick, who, on his return to England, had evaded coming to a settlement with them "for the payment he had received for the bust," and for the other articles intrusted to him; and that he had at last gone from England without rendering any account to them, or reimbursing them for any part of their goods, whereby they were in great distress; and they solicited Count Bertrand to give them some remuneration.

Who, on reading this letter, could believe that Rethwick was allowed to go to Longwood, and that Bonaparte refused to see him, and Bertrand and his wife refused to ask him any questions, because they were told by a British officer on duty that the conversation must take place in his presence!

At a later period (the 31st of October) Sir Hudson Lowe received from Lord Bathurst a despatch, dated 19th August, 1817, containing the Prince Regent's approval of his conduct in sending to Bonaparte the bust of his son. But Lord Bathurst added, "The suspicious circumstances, however, under which it arrived at St. Helena, as detailed in your despatch, were sufficient to make you pause before you determined to transmit it to the General. Had the package contained anything less interesting to him in his private character as a father, the clandestine manner with which it appears to have been introduced on board the vessel would have been a sufficient reason for withholding the delivery of it, at least for a much longer period. The French ambassador has informed me that he had some intimation of its having been sent, but that he received this intelligence long after the sailing of the vessel. I am not disposed to participate in the apprehensions with which he has been impressed—that letters were conveyed within it. No doubt, however, can be entertained that attempts are making at clandestine communications, which will be much encouraged if it be once understood that your vigilance abates."

It will be convenient to mention in this place another incident which happened a little later. As a mark of gratitude to Bonaparte for having saved the life of Captain Elphinstone, of the 15th Light Dragoons, who was severely wounded and made prisoner

the day before the battle of Waterloo, his brother, the Hon. John Elphinstone, late President of the East India Company's establishment in China, sent Napoleon a beautiful set of chessmen, two workboxes, and some other articles of Chinese manufacture. They arrived at St. Helena on the 4th of July, and the letter that accompanied them was immediately forwarded to Longwood, with an intimation that the articles would follow. On examining them it was discovered that the presents were marked with eagles and the initial N., surmounted by the imperial crown, a recognition or allusion to his former rank which rendered them under the regulations inadmissible. Sir Hudson Lowe, however, did not enforce the rule, and transmitted the articles; but he thought it right to advert to the irregularity, and wrote to Bertrand on the 10th, saying that if he were to act in strict conformity with the established rules he ought to delay sending them; but that, as he had promised that the boxes should follow the letter, he had no alternative but to forward them.[1]

To this Count Bertrand sent an angry reply. "The Emperor," he said, "was surprised to find in your letter that you conceived it was your duty not to transmit these objects. '*If I acted*,' say you, '*in perfect conformity with the established rules, I ought to delay sending them.*' In that case, Sir, you would have done well to withhold them. But to what does this apply? Is it to those objects not having been sent through the channel of the Ministry? In the restrictions imposed by the Minister it is indeed said

[1] O'Meara says (Voice, ii. p. 118) that Captain Heaviside, who brought these presents from China, was ordered by the Governor to maintain a strict silence on the subject to the French at Longwood, which he was permitted to visit. This Captain Heaviside denied. See his letter at end of next volume.

that letters must be sent through him, but not clothes, busts, furniture, &c. We have constantly received from the Cape many things that have been sent to us; and besides, Lord Bathurst, in his speech—and you yourself, in one of your letters—expressed your indignation against letters that had arrived here by the post being transmitted to London, to be again sent out here. That cannot, nor could it ever, authorize you to withhold such objects as busts, furniture, or any other objects which can have nothing to do with the safe custody of the detained. Is it because there is a crown on the counters? There can be no regulation unknown to us, and we are not aware that we are prohibited from possessing anything with a crown upon it. If such be the case, new packs of cards must be printed, as there is a crown on those we get. The linen and the little plate we have left are often taken into the town, and are marked with a crown. But from whence has emanated this regulation which you say is in force? . . . . . The Emperor will not accept of favours from anybody, nor be indebted for anything to the caprice of any one; but he claims to be made acquainted with the restrictions imposed upon him. . . . . "

Sir Hudson Lowe answered this letter at some length, saying, "The only object I had in addressing you on the 8th instant was to avoid its being conceived I tacitly participated in or approved the acknowledgment given to the imperial rank in the crown placed everywhere over the initial of Napoleon, on presents sent by a British subject particularly, and coming from a British factory. Had I suffered them to proceed without any remark, the inference would have been obvious I saw no impropriety in it. And I am too well aware how far this precedent might

have been alleged, and what complaints would have sprung up on any future deviation from it, had I not explicitly made known the grounds upon which, in this instance, I had suffered them to reach you. . . . . Presents may be as obnoxious to the security of detention as a letter, and might require to be examined with a minuteness that would baffle any purpose of ornament or utility to be derived from them. A letter may be concealed under the squares of a chess-board or the folds of a book-cover, as well as in the lining of a waistcoat; and I am not necessarily called upon to place my trust in any person by whom they are sent. . . . . You add, 'L'Empereur ne veut de grace,' &c. I have not the pretension to bestow a favour on General Bonaparte, and still less the arrogance of subjecting him to any act of my caprice. He is under no restriction which my Government does not know, and which all the world may not know. . . . . "

At a later period Sir Hudson Lowe received a letter from Lord Bathurst, dated 18th September, 1817, in which, after stating that he entirely approved of his having forwarded Mr. Elphinstone's present to Longwood under the circumstance of his having inadvertently given an assurance that it should be sent, he added,—"I am so sensible of the inconvenience which may result from permitting General Buonaparte to receive anything addressed to him as a sovereign prince, that I deem it necessary to instruct you that, in case of any present being hereafter forwarded to General Buonaparte to which emblems or titles of sovereignty are annexed, you are to consider that circumstance as altogether precluding its delivery if they cannot be removed without prejudice to the present itself."

It has been stated that, amongst those who were removed from Longwood and sent to Europe, was

Santini, who performed while at St. Helena the offices of a domestic and was occasionally employed as a tailor. Shortly after his arrival in England a pamphlet appeared of which he professedly was the author. It bore the sounding title of 'An Appeal to the British Nation on the Treatment experienced by Napoleon Bonaparte in the Island of St. Helena: by M. Santini, Porter of the Emperor's Closet.' That Santini could not have written it was obvious to all who knew the position and capacity of the man; but it was not so clear who the real author was. Sir Walter Scott says[1] that, according to General Gourgaud's communication to the British Government, Napoleon was himself the author of the whole or greater part of the work. This however is entirely a mistake.

The pamphlet was brought by a vessel to St. Helena early in June this year, and in a despatch of the 7th of that month Sir Hudson Lowe acquainted Earl Bathurst with the circumstance, and said that it appeared that the sheets had been given by Piontkowski to the surgeon of the ship; and an examination of them convinced him that the Pole had corrected the proof-sheets; that the statement which had been published in Santini's name was "a forgery or fabrication;" and that he was incompetent to write it.

All this was no doubt correct, but it is only lately that it has been known who was the compiler of the statement. Colonel Maceroni, an officer who had served under Murat, has avowed himself the author, and he gives the following account of its concoction:[2]—

"At this time of day it can do no harm for me to confess that the expulsion of Santini was contrived between the Emperor's friends and the man himself, as was in

[1] Life of Napoleon Buonaparte, vol. ix. pp. 186-7.
[2] Life of Colonel Maceroni, vol. ii. p. 425.

like manner that of Captain Piontkowski. . . . . Santini gave me proof of his having been instructed to make search for and communicate with *me* immediately upon his arrival in London. The first thing that I thought necessary to be done was to publish in French and English a little pamphlet, to which I gave the title of 'An Appeal to the British Nation on the Treatment of the Emperor Napoleon at St. Helena,' attaching to it the authorship of Santini, as in reality *I* had only transcribed, in the two languages, the details of the petty mean vexations and even privations to which the worthy Governor Lowe subjected his illustrious prisoner. This little tract was published by Ridgway, and such was the interest it excited, that seven editions were sold in less than a fortnight. It was hawked about the streets, stuck on venders' hats, and for some time attracted universal attention. I introduced Santini to Lords Holland and Grey, to Sir Robert Wilson, and others likely to bring about Parliamentary inquiry into the numerous alleged grievances. In fact, Lord Holland moved the House of Lords for the production of all the reports, correspondence, or papers which might throw light on the subject."

Although the public greedily devoured the contents of this *brochure*, and men who ought to have been more on their guard believed its falsehoods, Bonaparte himself had the candour to admit that it was "a foolish production, exaggerated, full of *coglioniere* and some lies."[1] In a letter from O'Meara to Sir Hudson Lowe on the 5th of June, he told him that Napoleon had so characterised it, and had gone on to say that

[1] "'Santini,' continued he, 'has published a *brochure* full of lies.'"—*Voice*, vol. ii. p. 76.

"Truths there were in it, but exaggerated; that there never had existed that actual want described by him; that there had been enough to eat supplied, though not enough to keep a proper table; that there had been enough of wine for them, though he conceived it an indignity for himself and the Generals and ladies to be classed and rationed with the domestics; that there certainly had been several times a deficiency of necessary articles, but that this might be accounted for by accident; that he believed frequent purchases had been made at the camp of bread and other provisions, which might also occasionally have arisen from the same cause. He added, that he was convinced it was some Englishman, and not Santini, who had written it (having had, doubtless, some part of his information from Santini); that Santini had a Corsican head, a '*testa calda*,' and would not have praised the Admiral; that he would, if left to himself, have abused everybody." O'Meara in his letter went on to say,—"I explained to him that I thought and was certain there was no indignity intended to him in the rationing, that it was merely intended to strike an aggregate in the quantities of wine required."

Here then we have Bonaparte's distinct and unequivocal admission that the idea of *want* at Longwood, which was so industriously propagated in Europe, was a fiction, and that accident and not design sufficiently accounted for any temporary deficiency. We cannot tell what one so long accustomed to be served in magnificent style as Emperor may have deemed "a proper table," and therefore the qualification which accompanies the admission detracts little from its value.

It was one of the complaints also of the grievance-mongers of the time that an attempt was made to

starve the mind as well as the body of Napoleon, by denying him access to new publications and newspapers. O'Meara asserts in his book that the captive received "but very few newspapers"—that none except some unconnected numbers of the 'Times,' 'Courier,' 'Observer,' &c., with a few straggling French papers of a very old date, reached Longwood during his residence there, except in one instance when he was permitted to take the 'Morning Chronicle' there for some weeks as a great favour, which was not again repeated."[1] And yet on the 20th of June this year the doctor thus wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe:—

"In reply to your inquiries to be informed of the names of such newspapers as General Bonaparte may have received, I have the honour to inform you that the following are the only ones which (to my knowledge) have ever reached him, viz.: London papers—the 'Courier,' 'Times,' 'Star,' 'Observer,' 'Bell's Weekly Messenger,' and the 'St. James's, or Englishman's Chronicle' (a paper published twice a-week). Provincial papers—the 'Hampshire Telegraph,' the 'Hampshire Courier,' and the Macclesfield paper. Of the above-mentioned papers by far the greatest number have been the 'Times,' 'Courier,' 'Star,' and the 'Hampshire Telegraph;' of the 'Observer,' not more than three or four numbers; probably as many of the 'St. James's Chronicle' and 'Bell's Messenger;' of the 'Hampshire Courier' probably eight or nine. On one occasion I recollect that amongst a file of 'Couriers' given by Sir Thomas Reade there was one number of the 'Globe' and one or two of the 'Traveller.' *These, with the usual series of papers sent by*

[1] Voice, vol. ii. p. 297.

yourself, some French papers, and 'Morning Chronicle' for October, November, and part of December, also sent by yourself, form the whole of the newspapers he has received."

It would be difficult to believe that these two statements came from the same pen, if the fact were not undeniable, and we had not had ample proof that O'Meara's printed book is often in direct contradiction to his private correspondence. It is hardly necessary to add that in all such cases credence is to be given to the latter and not to the former, for common sense dictates the rule of evidence that, of two opposite statements, we ought to believe that which is made when there is no motive to deceive, rather than that which has the suspicious aspect of being brought forward to serve a particular purpose.

O'Meara gives in his book an account of a dispute which he had with Sir Hudson Lowe on the 22nd or 23rd of May this year, respecting some newspapers which he had obtained from the postmaster and lent to Bonaparte, without the sanction or knowledge of the Governor and in violation of the Act of Parliament. O'Meara said that he was not included in the Act, and would not remain an hour in his situation if he were to be subjected to a rule which he tells us Sir Hudson Lowe wished to lay down, by which he was only to communicate such news to Bonaparte as he had received from the Governor. This led Sir Hudson Lowe to advert to O'Meara having, some time before, communicated to Bonaparte the important intelligence of the dissolution of the French Chambers before the Governor himself heard of it; and he pressed him to say whether he gave Bonaparte that information verbally or by means of a newspaper,

and, if by the latter, whether the paper had not been lent to him by Sir Pulteney Malcolm. O'Meara replied that he did not recollect whether the communication had been verbal or by means of a newspaper; that most probably it had been both; and that he did not recollect from whom he had received the newspaper.[1] This did not satisfy the Governor, and a correspondence ensued which is not mentioned in the 'Voice.' In that correspondence there was nothing discreditable to O'Meara, who seems to have answered the questions put to him with candour and fairness. He told Sir Hudson that "he had been invariably actuated by a desire of being explicit, and of giving every full knowledge of facts whenever he could do so consistent with truth and his recollection." This statement, though directly at variance with his subsequent account of the nature of his communications, is no doubt the truth, for up to this time they had been frequent, spontaneous, and unreserved. The pertinacity, however, with which the Governor made these inquiries seems to have irritated him, and he was also annoyed that his correspondence with Mr. Finlaison should have been censured and, in fact, forbidden. The prohibition, however, was of no avail, for he continued to write to his friend, and on the 29th of June began a letter of enormous length, which contains the chief part of what he afterwards printed as his Journal between the beginning of January and end of May, 1817. There is a perceptible difference between it and his former letters to the same person, as regards the tone in which he speaks of Sir Hudson Lowe and his conduct: and, as may be expected, a much nearer agreement between it and his

[1] Voice, vol. ii. pp. 62, 63.

printed work. Indeed, so much of the latter as embraces the period above mentioned is evidently copied, *with some suppressions and additions*, from the same memoranda, and the letter, therefore, need not be here quoted at length, but we will notice a few variations and passages of importance, referring the reader to the 'Voice from St. Helena' for a full account of its contents.[1]

Speaking of a conversation between himself and Sir Hudson Lowe on the subject of Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm being employed as a mediator between him and Bonaparte, he says that Sir Hudson asked, "'What can he want a mediator for? What necessity is there for one? Answer me. Do you not think that he has asked the Admiral for a mediator because he thinks he can *humbug him*, which he cannot do to me?' I replied that I did not by any means think so; that Bonaparte himself had already given a reason, viz. that he could talk over and reason calmly with the Admiral upon the matter, without flying into a passion, which would inevitably be the case if he entered into discussions with him (Sir Hudson); that he knew he could not speak to him without getting into a passion (you will observe that I could not with propriety have given Bonaparte's other reasons). Upon hearing this Sir Hudson replied that probably that might be his reason, that it was very likely. He, however, then got up and went into another room, from whence he brought out a volume of the 'Quarterly Review,' in which was contained the review of 'Miot's Expedition to Egypt;' read observations upon the character of Bonaparte to the following effect, which he *pointed out to me and*

[1] See 'Voice,' vol. i. p. 302; vol. ii. pp. 1–35.

made me read out: viz. 'He understands enough of mankind to dazzle the weak, to dupe the vain, to overcome the timid, and to make the wicked his instruments.' This proceeding of his showing me the 'Review,' &c., was not thrown away upon me. I understood the allusion in its utmost malignancy, without, however, acknowledging that it was justly applied. I conceived it to be a dirty stab in the dark against the character of a man who is infinitely superior to the author of so unworthy an attack.[1] After this he said that he did not exactly like to employ the Admiral; that he did not think that he was a fit man for it; that he was too *open* and too likely to enter into his views. Here he said that Bonaparte ought to send the Admiral to him. I replied, that the Admiral would not, or could not, undertake any business of the kind without being first authorized by him (Sir Hudson), and either requested, or at least authorized, to undertake the business by him. He said that his sending the Admiral would look as if he pledged himself to perform everything which the Admiral might think proper to agree to with Bonaparte."

O'Meara afterwards relates a conversation he had with Bonaparte on the 30th of January, 1817, when the latter said, "I wish you to go to this Governor and tell him that, in consequence of his conduct about the Admiral accepting the mediation, and saying that he would charge the Admiral with it, and afterwards doing nothing, I conceive him to be *un uomo senza parola e senza fede;* he only wanted to gain that

[1] It is clear that O'Meara means that the quotation was applied to the Admiral, but there is little doubt that Sir Hudson Lowe intended it as a hint to *himself.* In the 'Voice,' vol. i. p. 319, he says, "During the time I was reading this his Excellency indulged in bursts of laughter." No such remark occurs in his *letter.*

frigate [*i. e.* to prevent complaints being sent to England by a particular vessel]; he thought that a complaint going home that time with the affair of Las Cases might be of injury to him, and that he would gain something by putting it off, because in five or six months Las Cases' affair would be forgotten. He has behaved in such a manner as to make me despise him more than ever I did, for he has broken his word; he has not what even the brigands have, or the Bedouin Arabs, for these, when they promise a thing or make an agreement, always keep their word. He has not even the honour of a robber. What the lowest of society possess he is deficient of. Tell him the first time you see him that, by his conduct concerning the Admiral, I consider him as a man '*senza fede e senza parola*;' that he has broken a compact, broken his word, which is held sacred by robbers and wild Arabs, but not by the agents of the British Government; that, when a man has lost his word, he has lost everything; that it is the principal thing which distinguishes man from a brute, and that he has forfeited that distinction uselessly, for when a man does break his word he ought at least to have some great object in view.[1] Tell him that I hold him to be inferior to the robbers of the desert and to savages. Tell him what I have said to you, I desire you, for it will be a subject of complaint hereafter." O'Meara says, however, that he considerably modified this message when he delivered it, and suggested (what he does not mention in the 'Voice'[2]) that the Governor should say that the reason of his not having acted upon his original proposal was, that

[1] Are we to take this as a maxim of Napoleon's moral code,—that the end justifies the means?

[2] See 'Voice,' vol. i. p. 360.

he daily expected an arrival from England with fresh instructions, that perhaps the regulations he might make would be contrary to those ordered by Government, and that therefore he had thought it best to wait.[1]

It is I think much to be regretted that Sir Hudson Lowe did not take advantage of the Admiral's willingness to act as mediator between him and Bonaparte. It is probable that the attempt would have failed, owing to the deep-rooted aversion which the latter entertained towards the Governor, and indeed all who assumed the attitude of authority over him. But the experiment was at least worth trying, and, even if unsuccessful, it would have deprived Napoleon of the semblance of a complaint on the subject. And few were more likely to succeed in such a mission than Sir Pulteney Malcolm, whose countenance irresistibly inspired confidence, and whose manner won respect from all who knew him. But unfortunately before this time a coolness had arisen between him and the Governor, the precise origin of which it is difficult to discover. It seems, however,

[1] The answer which Sir Hudson Lowe ultimately authorized O'Meara to communicate to Bonaparte was the following:—"The Governor is employed in writing an answer to the observations of Count Bertrand and to the paper containing the remarks on his answer to the proposition for the intervention of the Admiral, and also in arranging how far his instructions will permit him to accede to General Bonaparte's wishes. When these are finished he will send them to Count Bertrand, and then, if any other arrangement is deemed necessary, the Governor will have no objection to authorize the Admiral, or any other person General Bonaparte may think proper, to act as an intermediator, though the intermediation of any person will have no influence whatever in inducing the Governor to grant more or less than he would do of his own free will and judgment. This, with the alterations already made in the restrictions, and the general tenor of the observations and remarks received from Longwood since the Governor expressed his readiness to employ an intermediator, and the expectation of an arrival from England, has been the cause of the delay in authorizing the Admiral to undertake the office."

that Sir Hudson Lowe thought that the abuse which Bonaparte always lavished upon his name was not sufficiently checked by the Admiral, and that he was too passive a listener to calumnies of which another, and not himself, was the object. And we can easily conceive that he may have felt some little jealousy at finding Sir Pulteney admitted to easy and familiar intercourse with Napoleon, while he himself was treated with contumely and insult, and denied even an interview. For it was part of the policy at Longwood to play off the Admiral against the Governor, and by acts of courtesy towards the former make it appear that a different line of conduct towards the latter was caused by his own ungracious performance of his duties. Sir Pulteney had no authority over the exiles—he had to enforce no disagreeable rules, and with him there could be no collision. He was met therefore with smiles and sunshine, while sullenness and complaint were reserved for Sir Hudson Lowe; and as nothing could exceed the fascination of Bonaparte's manner when he chose to make himself agreeable, it is not unlikely that the Admiral may have in Sir Hudson's opinion surrendered himself too readily to its influence.[1] It must not however be supposed that an actual quarrel took place. The misunderstanding merely led to an interruption of the cordial relations which ought to have subsisted between them, and which were always maintained between Sir Hudson Lowe and Admiral Plampin, who succeeded Sir Pulteney Malcolm in the command of the St. Helena station.

It is curious to see the way in which Bonaparte

[1] That this is not an incorrect view to take may be gathered from a letter of Sir Hudson Lowe to Lord Bathurst, dated May 13, 1817, which, for that reason, is given at the end of this volume.

interpreted in his own favour the legal maxim that *delegatus non potest delegare*. O'Meara mentions in his letter that in the course of conversation on the 3rd of February Napoleon said "that he would give two millions (of francs) that the restrictions were signed by the English ministry, in order, he said, to show to Europe what base, dishonourable, and tyrannical acts they were capable of, and that thus they had fulfilled their promises. 'According to law,' said he, 'this Governor has no right to impose any restrictions upon me; the bill, however illegal and iniquitous it is, says that I shall be subject to such restrictions as the Ministers shall think fit, but it does not say that any such Ministers shall have the power of delegating that authority to any other person: therefore every restriction upon me ought to be signed, properly speaking, by the Privy Council, by all the Ministers assembled. There is no mention made in the bill that they shall have the power of delegating the power given to them by the bill to any person. As well might this Governor delegate the power he says he has to the orderly officer here, and the orderly officer to his corporal or to his servant. Tell him this,' continued he, 'the next time you see him. I give the Ministers, however, so much credit as to think that they have not, at least all of them, given orders for such unheard-of barbarity, unparalleled in Botany Bay, for even there the liberty of speaking is not interdicted; I believe that they have merely ordered him to take care that I do not escape from the island, but otherwise to treat me well. I cannot conceive that the English Ministers could be capable of promising me that the reason of their sending me here was in order to be able to allow me more liberty than they could venture to do in England, and afterwards, when

they got me here, prohibit me to speak. During the time of the revolutionary tribunal in France, even in those times of horror, this was not practised. What makes this man's conduct worse is, that it is useless and has no object in view, tends to no end, whether political or otherwise; *la politica giustifica tutto* (policy justifies everything), but here there is none.'"[1]

Another instance of his legal criticism, which would not have disgraced the acumen of a special pleader, occurs in the same letter. The Governor had given orders that Bonaparte himself should be allowed to ride round by Woody Ridge, alone or in company with his suite, unattended by an officer, but that the French Generals were not to pass there without him. When O'Meara informed Bonaparte of this regulation, he considered a moment, and replied, "Then it is an unjust order, and beyond his power to give; for, by the paper these Generals have signed, he cannot do it—by the paper ordered by his Government; for it specifies particularly therein that they bind themselves to undergo such restrictions as it may be thought necessary to impose upon Napoleon Bonaparte, and not any more. Now, this is a restriction not imposed upon me, and consequently cannot be upon them, and therefore it is illegal and beyond his power."

We will quote one or two more passages. Napoleon said,—

"'I think also that your nation will be very little obliged to this Governor for conferring upon it a dishonour which will be recorded in history, by obliging me to sell my plate. You English, though you are parsimonious in some things, yet are proud and have

[1] Compare 'Voice,' vol. i. p. 368.

the honour of your nation at heart more than even your money—witness the thousands that your *milords* throw away in France, Italy, and other countries, in order to exalt and raise the English name; but this Governor has nothing English about him either in appearance or spirit. *Il n'a rien d'Anglais—pas du tout, du tout, du tout. E un uomo Siciliano.* I will lay a wager that there are hundreds of your English nobility and others who would have subscribed thousands in order to have prevented the stigma on their nation happening which this *imbécile* has brought upon them. If indeed it was to gratify boundless extravagances, to send to India and Europe for luxuries, to lavish it away upon women, that I had done it, then indeed some excuse might be offered; but, on the contrary, it has been really done in order to procure the common necessaries of life—bread, meat, salt, and wood and candles to burn;[1] and this Governor, his usual *scaltrezza* forsaking him, has been imbecile enough to write to us that he knows the allowance is not sufficient. If indeed he had written to his Government, stating that it was enough—*àlla buona*—but he confesses that it is not, and yet allows the plate to be sold to purchase eatables.' . . . . . He observed, 'that he considered it necessary not to yield too much to the people, nor as if it had been done by fear; that a parliamentary reform he thought one of the most dangerous things that could be consented to. Once grant that, and God knows how far things may go on—perhaps even to a revolution. Perhaps it was necessary that the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill might be required for a time, and also

[1] And yet Bonaparte had a short time previously admitted, when criticising Santini's pamphlet, that there had been no want of necessaries, but only not enough "to keep a good table." *Vide* pp. 158-9, *ante*.

that an army should be kept up for some time in order to intimidate the *canaille*; but that he considered that suspension as only a topical remedy, and one which, if used without general remedies, would act upon the constitutional disease, might prove repellant and dangerous, and throw the complaint upon nobler parts: that the only radical remedy would be one which would affect the constitution—that is to say, to relieve the misery which existed. This could only be effected by getting a vent for our manufactures, and by those who held sinecures giving them up. This would contribute essentially to calm the public agitation. Had they come forward like men at the opening of Parliament, and followed the example of the Prince Regent giving up so large a portion of his income, this would have quieted all tumults; the people, in the expectation of some radical reliefs taking place from so good a beginning, would have waited, and time would have been granted to adopt measures for relieving the general distress.'"

As Sir Pulteney Malcolm was going to sail from St. Helena on the 3rd of July, and intended before he left to call at Longwood and pay his parting respects to Napoleon, the Governor thought that this would be a good opportunity for his successor, Rear-Admiral Plampin, to be introduced. He therefore wrote a courteous note to Count Bertrand on the 2nd, in which he said,—

"Monsieur le Comte,

"Rear-Admiral Plampin, who is about to assume the command of the naval force in these seas, has expressed to me his wish to be presented at Longwood. I have the honour to inform you of this, and also to let you know that Sir Pulteney Malcolm takes leave

to-morrow. I have suggested to Admiral Plampin to profit by this opportunity to present himself at the same time. If I do not propose to accompany him myself, as I did on the arrival of Admiral Malcolm, I beg of you, Monsieur le Comte, to make it known that it is not from any want of the courtesy which it is my duty to show towards all parties, but from the idea that the presentation of Admiral Plampin in the way I have indicated, and to which he has no objection, would, in every other respect, be the most agreeable. Should I, however, be mistaken in this idea, I have only to beg you will let me know, in order that I may act accordingly.

"I have the honour, &c.,

"H. LOWE."

Count Bertrand's reply was laconic, and took no notice of Sir Hudson's allusion to himself:—

"Longwood, July 3, 1817.

"Count Bertrand has the honour to present his compliments to Monsieur le Gouverneur; he has received his letter of last evening. The Emperor will receive Sir Pulteney Malcolm and Admiral Plampin to-day."

Notwithstanding the marked incivility, not to say rudeness, with which Count Bertrand received all overtures on the part of the Governor, the latter evinced no animosity or ill-will towards him, and an occasion occurred at the latter end of this month on which he showed kind consideration for his feelings. A newspaper, which had just arrived, contained an announcement that Bertrand had been condemned *par contumace* for high treason. As soon as Sir Hudson Lowe was aware of the fact he caused this paper to be sent separately to the Count, with a private note, in which he said,—

"I consider it a precautionary duty to send you the enclosed Gazette separate from the rest, lest it might first meet the eye of the Countess Bertrand. A mind steeled against every event may see the article it contains with composure, and, as it must come to your knowledge at last, I have thought it better to send it to you without delay, in order to diminish as much as possible the grief which the sudden information of the decree of the French Government might cause in your family. It is with infinite pain that I am the organ of this communication in regard both to yourself and your family."

We have mentioned that Lord Amherst, our ambassador to China, arrived at St. Helena on the 27th of June. Sir Hudson Lowe thought that he was likely to have one or more interviews with Bonaparte, and, as his public situation appeared to render him in a peculiar degree fitted to receive any communication which Bonaparte might feel averse to make to or through himself respecting his situation in the island, he told his Lordship, immediately after his arrival, that in his particular case he should be most happy to dispense with the general rule of not allowing any complaint or representation whatever to be made known except through the Governor. He also said that he should be glad to avail himself of his presence to introduce any amelioration into the situation of Bonaparte which, upon conversation with him, it might appear advisable to allow, due regard being had to the measures necessary for the security of his person and the prevention of unauthorised communication with him. Napoleon, however, at this time was said to be suffering from a swelled face, and Lord Amherst did not obtain an interview with him until the 1st of July, the even-

ing before his departure from St. Helena. When Sir Hudson Lowe communicated this to Earl Bathurst he said,—

"General Bonaparte protracted, upon various grounds, any occasion of a meeting with his Lordship until the evening before his departure, when he entered most fully at length into every subject past and present respecting his situation on the island; not, apparently, with any view whatever of amelioration to be produced here, but solely to prefer complaints and represent his situation in the worst light possible at home, on all which Lord Amherst was specially requested to communicate with his Royal Highness the Prince Regent himself. His Lordship having made known to me the heads of the conversation General Bonaparte addressed to him, and asked my opinion as to any steps he might take on his arrival at home, I have taken the liberty to refer him to your Lordship, and wish to leave the detail of every circumstance stated in conversation by General Bonaparte, with any observations I have made upon them, entirely to him."

It would be impossible for any one to have adopted a fairer or more honourable course than this, and the Governor must have had the strongest conviction of the rectitude and propriety of his own conduct thus unreservedly to refer Ministers to Lord Amherst for an account of his proceedings.

Lord Amherst told Sir Hudson Lowe that Napoleon had made bitter complaints, and he asked him whether he ought to make them known to the Prince Regent and Ministers on his arrival in England. Sir Hudson said that he wished him to make known all that Bonaparte had mentioned, upon which Lord Amherst replied, "*In such case, Sir, I shall think it my*

duty as an honest man to say, at the same time, I consider them unfounded." O'Meara tells us in his work that Bonaparte informed him in conversation that he "asked the Ambassador, 'Would you, my Lord, go out under the restriction of not speaking more to any person you met, than, How do you do? unless in the presence of a British officer? (It is true that he has taken this off; but he may put it on again according to his caprice.) Would you go out under the restriction of not being able to move to the right or to the left of the road? Would you stir out under the obligation of coming in again at six o'clock in the evening, or otherwise run the risk of being stopped by sentinels at the gates?' He instantly replied, '*Non, je ferais comme vous; je resterais dans ma chambre,*'"[1].

Soon after the 'Voice from St. Helena' appeared, in 1822, Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Lord Amherst and called his attention to this amongst other passages in the book; upon which Lord Amherst, who was then at Montreal, replied that he did not use the expression, nor anything like the expression, attributed to him in the above conversation.[2]

Early in June some books and other articles were brought out to St. Helena from Lady Holland for the family of Count Bertrand, and not long afterwards another box arrived containing books and sweetmeats, and a letter from Lady Holland, enclosing a note to her from the Duke of Bedford, begging her to forward some books from him destined for Bonaparte. Lord Holland also sent some books from himself. The books from the Duke of Bedford were an edition of Robertson's works, with the following words simply

[1] Voice, vol. ii. p. 239.

[2] Lord Amherst's letter, which was dated October 2, 1822, will be found at the end of the volume.

written within the cover of each volume: "From the Duke of Bedford." The books sent by Lord Holland were the two volumes of the 'Life of Lopez de Vega,' written by himself, with an inscription in the first volume as follows: "H. V. Holland. Hoc Napoleonis fortitudini et ingenio, non fortunæ, munusculum mittit, 1817." The only book from Lady Holland was Legh's 'Travels in Egypt' for Count Bertrand. The sweetmeats, she informed Sir Hudson Lowe in a letter, were intended for Bonaparte himself, being of a kind of which she understood he was fond. There were besides some papers and caricatures.

Sir Hudson Lowe forwarded to Longwood the books and sweetmeats, but detained the papers and caricatures, which he showed to Lord Amherst in order that he might be able to inform Lord Bathurst about them, and also explain to Lord and Lady Holland the difficulty and embarrassment which such presents occasioned to him in the performance of his duty.

On the 14th of July the officers of the 53rd regiment were introduced to Bonaparte to take leave previous to their return to England. They went to Longwood in the afternoon, and were shown by General Bertrand into the drawing-room, in which they found Bonaparte walking backwards and forwards. He bowed to each as they entered, and thanked them all for the manner in which they had performed the duties assigned to them, wishing them prosperity wherever they went. Having said this, he continued to go round the circle, asking trivial questions of several officers, such as the time they had served, and what country they belonged to. He remarked to Sir George Bingham, "You must be sorry to lose a regiment you have served with so long; they have been your family, your *children:*" this last word he

pronounced in English. He next asked several questions relative to the first battalion of the 66th regiment, which had succeeded the 53rd, such as whether they would not feel the climate of Deadwood cold after India, and then bowed to the officers, who left the room.

Captain Poppleton, the orderly officer at Longwood, being about to return to England with his regiment, he was succeeded by Captain Blakeney, of the 66th. Before he sailed, Sir Hudson Lowe put the following questions to him respecting his past duties, and his answers give some interesting information about Bonaparte :—

"When did you take charge as orderly officer in attendance on General Bonaparte?—In the month of December, 1815, at the Briars, a day or two before he went up to Longwood.

"Did he avail himself of the permission to ride about the island, accompanied by a British officer, any time after his being established at Longwood?—With me he rode out once in the direction of Arno's Vale; with Sir George Cockburn and Sir George Bingham once each, I believe, only, after I was with him.

"Did he stop anywhere when he rode out with you?—He dismounted for a few minutes at a cottage in Arno's Vale, to ask the road across the valley to the next hill. This was a black man's cottage. Upon the occasion of General Bonaparte's riding out with me, General Bertrand desired me not to ride so near him; which having done, he got out of my sight, and I did not overtake him again, but went down to dine with Sir George Cockburn, leaving word with the officer of the guard to come down and report when he returned, being satisfied he must return by the same

road. I reported the circumstance to Sir George Cockburn, who desired me in future not to stand upon any ceremony, but keep close up to him.[1]

"Have you ever known him go beyond his limits unaccompanied?—To my own knowledge, never; but on the day that I rode out with General Bonaparte, having missed him, I questioned a slave on the top of the hill if he had seen him. The answer he gave was, that he had seen him. I asked him if he knew him: he said, Yes; for he often came that way. At this time, the posts not being established so near to one another, General Bonaparte might perhaps have passed through his limits without being seen by the picquets.

"Was he in the habit of conversing with the persons he met on the road?—I do not know that he ever did, except to [with?] Mr. Legge and Mr. Robinson (whose houses I know, pretty nearly to a certainty, he has entered); and the day I rode out with him he conversed with the black people at the cottage before mentioned.

"Have you ever known him give money to any of the lower classes of inhabitants he has met with?—To my own knowledge, *once*—to a slave who brought him a pocket-telescope he had lost, to whom he gave two napoleons. I did hear, I believe, from Sir George Cockburn, that in the course of some of his rides he had given some black people money for some trifling services rendered him on the road, such as opening gates, answering perhaps to his questions about the road, clearing the road for him, which they did at one time by pulling down a wall which lay in his direction.

[1] This shows how determined Sir George Cockburn was to perform his duty, and how little disposed he was to relax a rule which was of all the regulations the one most disliked by Napoleon.

All this time he was endeavouring to have the necessity of an officer accompanying him done away with, and getting the liberty of going about the island, avoiding the sea-coast, without such attendance. At this time he was also in the habit of receiving a number of visitors.

"What was the particular occasion of his ceasing to ride out accompanied by you?—My intimating to Count Las Cases that I should for the future be under the necessity of riding nearer to General Bonaparte than I had previously done; that I should not molest him in any way; that I would not ride so near him as to be within hearing of anything he said; that I did not wish to be noticed by any of them; and that, if he wished to be left alone for any particular time, by intimating his wish it should be immediately complied with; and that I would not make my appearance till then. I have no confidence that Count Las Cases did deliver my message in the words I used, *because there appeared an evident design on the part of the people about him to make him dissatisfied with the English, and making him believe everything was done to annoy him*; and from that day he declined riding out with me. I delivered this message to Count Las Cases in consequence of the orders I had received from Sir George Cockburn; and I mentioned to Count Las Cases that I did it in consequence of what had happened in the last ride.

"Have you ever known of any letters, newspapers, or messages of any kind being delivered at Longwood, except those coming direct from me, and delivered through you?—No letters to my knowledge, except those delivered by you or by myself; except the circumstance which became afterwards so fully known, viz. the letters delivered to Marchand. Newspapers I

know of none, except those sent by Sir P. Malcolm through Dr. O'Meara.

"Have any complaints been made to you respecting provisions?—Complaints that the provisions were bad I have frequently heard, most particularly before you came here; since your arrival not so frequent as before; and they always have been made known, and as far as appeared possible instantly remedied.

"Has any complaint ever been made to you of shortness of provisions?—It never was brought forward to me as a complaint; but I have heard that there had been several conversations on the subject with Dr. O'Meara, to whom they have said they were short. The provisions were reduced in quantity after the time of Sir George Cockburn's departure, and gave rise to these remarks.

"Was there ever any complaint about the quantity of wine?—No; I always understood they fixed the quantity themselves.

"What was the reason you did not mention to me when you heard these observations made?—I thought Dr. O'Meara had mentioned it; and as there was no complaint officially made to me, I, of course, made none to you."

CHAPTER XV.

LORD BATHURST'S DESPATCHES — DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR AND O'MEARA — DISSENSIONS AMONGST THE FRENCH AT LONGWOOD — THE STYLE AND EXPENSE OF LIVING THERE — GROUNDS OF SIR HUDSON LOWE'S DISSATISFACTION WITH O'MEARA — RECEPTION OF THE GOVERNOR'S ATTEMPTS TO PROMOTE THE CONVENIENCE OF BONAPARTE — DIFFICULTY OF THE GOVERNOR'S POSITION — COMPLAINTS OF A DEFICIENCY OF FUEL EXAMINED.

IN the course of this month the Governor received some despatches from the Colonial Secretary, in which Lord Bathurst expressed the Prince Regent's and his own entire approval of his conduct towards Count Las Cases, in giving him the option of returning to Longwood while he remained in St. Helena, or of continuing separate from Bonaparte until instructions arrived from the English Government, or of proceeding at once to the Cape. Lord Bathurst said,—

"It must, however, be admitted, that, although there is the strongest presumption that Count Las Cases was determined at any rate not to return to Longwood, yet no direct request to that effect was ever made to him by General Buonaparte, not even on the morning of Count Las Cases' departure, which seems to have been postponed over night, at the desire of General Bertrand, for the express purpose of giving him time to be furnished with such an instruction. On the contrary, the message which General Bertrand then brought back from Longwood only showed that General Buonaparte preferred accepting the offer of Count

Las Cases' money to that of his society; and he obtained from the unhappy man an order for all that he had left in England, without giving him any real security, or even parting with a single article of those valuable personals of which it is known the General is possessed in St. Helena. There is something so much of injustice in this transaction that you are authorised to stop the negotiation of the bills, if this despatch should arrive in time to do so, at least until you can ascertain whether General Buonaparte will consent to some arrangement which may protect Count Las Cases from ruin. I have the less difficulty in making this recommendation from the consideration of the permission which has been given to General Buonaparte to draw on the ample funds which he states himself to possess in Europe, and of the authority which you have received to exceed the limited sum of 12,000*l.* a-year for his maintenance, if you should conceive that such an addition to his income was really necessary for his comfort or convenience. Regard however must always be had, in the execution of this part of the despatch, to the state of General Buonaparte's health at the time, and the effect which such an interference may have upon it. It only remains for me to express, on this subject, my confident hope that you have not left General Buonaparte in the uncontrolled possession of this money."

On the 18th of July, according to O'Meara, he had a conversation with Bonaparte, and told him that the Governor had desired him to mention that he had been inquiring of him (O'Meara) who was the author of the false report that Rethwick had been prevented from selling his goods on shore, and thereby sustained loss, and had suffered bad treatment.[1] Bo-

[1] Voice, vol. ii. p. 130.

naparte answered that the gunner had said before Madame Bertrand that he had been prevented from going on shore, and had consequently been obliged to sell his little venture to Solomon, or some other shopkeeper, for half-price, and had thereby sustained a great loss. O'Meara remarked, that "probably the fellow had merely said that to excite pity, to work upon their compassion, and to induce them to give him a large sum of money."[1] To this Bonaparte replied, "I have been informed that he was prevented from coming on shore for several days on account of his having brought out the bust; and I believe it. I also believe that he was ill-treated—for that is ill-treatment."

He then became very abusive against the Governor, and after some sarcastic remarks desired O'Meara to deliver the following answer, which was committed to writing:—"Tell him that I am not obliged to render any account to my executioner. You address insinuations to me: this was the practice of the petty tyrants of Italy. This man seems to have no other object in view than to kill me by degrees, either morally or physically. An executioner would finish me at a blow. His conduct is tortuous and surrounded with mystery. It is only crime that walks in darkness. Some day or other his Prince and his nation will be informed of his doings, and his wicked conduct will be known; and if he escape the justice of the laws which he violates, he will not escape that of the opinion of enlightened and feeling men. He is an unfaithful commissioner; he deceives his Government,

[1] This remark of O'Meara is, as we might expect, omitted in the 'Voice;' but I have supplied it from a letter of O'Meara to Finlaison, dated August 18, 1817. In the 'Voice,' vol. ii. pp. 130, 131, O'Meara says that it was an unquestionable fact, and notorious on the island, that the gunner "had been obliged to sell his little venture to Solomon or some other shopkeeper for half-price."

as is evident from the twenty falsehoods and calumnies in the speech of Lord Bathurst. His conduct in regard to the bust of my son—which is proved—is abominable, and of a piece with all his actions for the last twelve months. Till the end of December his conduct has been that of a man who would assassinate me; since then he has been somewhat more tranquil. I judge of men by their conduct; I do not read the hearts of men; God alone reads their hearts. Leave me alone. Do your duty as a doctor, do not *stick pins into me.* Let us speak of medicine, and do not torment me with these insinuations."[1]

O'Meara calls his conversation with the Governor on the 21st "a long and very disagreeable discussion," nearly similar to that on the day before, with which, he says, "I shall not fatigue the reader further than by stating that I requested of him to remove me from my situation."[2] Some part of that discussion, however, ought to be recorded. It commenced by the Governor's asking O'Meara if he could explain what Bonaparte meant by the offensive expressions which he had used in the paper he (O'Meara) had received from him on the 18th; and after adverting to the report about destroying the bust, to Mr. Elphinstone's present, to the restrictions (which the Governor endeavoured, though without success, to convince him had been relaxed since Sir George Cockburn's departure), and to an application which O'Meara said he had been informed Sir Hudson had made to have him removed, the Governor said that no such application had been made, nor was it necessary, because he himself had full power to remove him if he thought proper to do so. He afterwards asked O'Meara (we quote Major Gorre-

[1] Voice, vol. ii. p. 132.

[2] Ibid., p. 137.

quer's minutes, who was present), "What alterations in the regulations in force would, he conceived, satisfy them at Longwood, and such as he could allow of? Mr. O'Meara said, he was of opinion that everything being again put on the same footing it was during Sir George Cockburn's time—allowing them to leave the road[1]—to communicate within the island under certain modifications by sealed letters—to make out a list of the persons the Governor would permit General Bonaparte to see when he thought proper to send for them.[2] The Governor asked what modifications he proposed in the correspondence within the island. He answered, that they should not be allowed to communicate with the Commissioners, nor with any other person who was not included in the list of names as above; that letters, sealed, should be sent to the orderly officer, who would enclose them to the Governor; that he would then open them, and if they contained nothing improper they should be forwarded. 'But,' observed the Governor, 'would they not expect these letters to be answered? and if they contained anything improper and that I retained them, what would be said?' 'In that case,' replied Mr. O'Meara, 'you might send for the persons to whom they were addressed, and read only such part as you thought proper they should know, and which they might answer.' The Governor asked what would be the use of sending the letters sealed, if he was to open them.

[1] It will be remembered that this restriction was made in the form of a request ("on est *invité* de se borner à la route principale." See vol. i. p. 468); and the reason for it was the danger of clandestine communication with the natives or strangers.

[2] This was the very thing that Bonaparte objected to. He said he would accept no list specifying the persons he *might* visit. What he wanted was that the Governor should make out a list of those whom he might *not* visit. See pp. 103-4, *ante*.

Mr. O'Meara answered, there was no necessity for their knowing it; at all events the appearance of freedom would reconcile them to it; as he had before mentioned to the Governor had been remarked by General Bonaparte, that even 'l'aria della liberta' would be something, though without the substance; conceding these points to them, he thought, from what he could understand, would satisfy them. The Governor expressed his surprise at hearing such propositions from an Englishman; it could only proceed from his siding with them on all points, or his not having given the subject the consideration it required. What would be the consequences of conceding them the liberty of written communication? would it not be a subject of daily complaint and daily correspondence with Bertrand? would it not be giving them the opportunity of venting their abuse and calumnies against him to everybody on the island? Mr. O'Meara said, as they would only be allowed to write to the persons named in the list, it would be the respectable inhabitants only of course. The Governor asked, how could he draw that distinction between the inhabitants of St. Helena; why were the Commissioners not to be regarded as such? would it not be highly improper that any of them should see such letters as that lately sent to an illiterate man, Radovick the sailor, who could scarcely read or write, containing nothing but the most scandalous inventions and abuse against him? and was he to submit to be made the vehicle of such calumnies against himself?"

It appears then, from this conversation, that the high-minded O'Meara proposed that the Governor should adopt the mean and unworthy course of reading letters which were sent through his hands sealed *on the faith that they would not be opened by him,* but

forwarded to their respective addresses unread. A more discreditable suggestion can hardly be conceived.

On the 27th Sir Hudson Lowe wrote a private letter to Earl Bathurst, and stated his opinion as to the causes of Bonaparte's increased exasperation against him at that moment. He said,—

"Many circumstances have conspired of late to inflame General Bonaparte's mind against me—your Lordship's speech in Parliament, the stings of which he ascribes in a great degree to my reports; the communication which I believe Sir Pulteney Malcolm made to Count Bertrand on the day of his departure, that he could not charge himself with messages to the Duke of Bedford and Lord Holland, and which would be of course attributed to me; and latterly the disappointment which General Bonaparte and all the Longwood establishment feel that I have not been willing to lend myself to their views and those of the Commissioners for private and unrestrained communication—motives it is true of a sufficiently vexatious nature, but which they ought not on reflection to ascribe to any other principle than that of my duty. To give satisfaction to all parties is in fact a task entirely above my power. Admiral Plampin does not seem disposed to interfere in any shape, but where he does it is to give support. . . . . Of General Bonaparte himself, attacked as I am by him, I wish to say little. Count Bertrand's letters, which I believe are of his dictation, the message sent by Dr. O'Meara, and the use he made of his interview with Lord Amherst, show the disposition with which he is actuated; whilst his conduct in regard to the bust and the presents sent by Mr. Elphinstone shows that no act of attention proves satisfactory unless made with the

sacrifice of some essential principle or precaution in the discharge of the duties I have to perform towards him. Much, however, of this arises from mistrust—total want of personal communication—and having no one near his person on whose statements and representations to him a full reliance can be placed."

But Sir Hudson Lowe was not the only object of Bonaparte's resentment, nor were his regulations the only source of discontent at Longwood. Dissensions of which no mention occurs in O'Meara's volumes not unfrequently happened between the French officers, and between Bonaparte and some of his suite.[1] Towards the end of July Napoleon quarrelled with General Gourgaud; and the circumstance is thus stated in a private letter to Earl Bathurst from Sir Hudson, dated the 5th of August:—

"General Bonaparte and one of his officers, Baron Gourgaud, are at present on very bad terms. They have not seen or spoken to each other this fortnight. General Gourgaud had addressed a letter to me, requesting to be sent to the Cape, but was advised by the Bertrands to recall it. General Bonaparte has said he should not be surprised that Gourgaud put an end to himself. The latter has been long profoundly discontented with his situation in General Bonaparte's family, and is at the same time distracted at the thought of the disgrace which would attend, as he conceives, his abandonment of him. He is jealous of the influence exercised over General Bonaparte by Count Montholon, and which has been always used to his prejudice. General Gourgaud, who is accustomed to express his sentiments with more independence than any other member of General Bonaparte's family,

[1] See note at p. 230, vol. i.

disapproved very much of the letter written by General Bonaparte to Count Las Cases, saying the latter was not deserving of the notice taken of him. Count Montholon, who was on worse terms with Count Las Cases than even General Gourgaud, repeated these remarks to General Bonaparte, and, as I am told, added also something more of his own. The irritation produced by this and other causes has been excessive, and Gourgaud has said he will not leave the island without measuring swords with Count Montholon or slapping him in the face. If Santini should be still in England, he can, I believe, give some account of the quarrels amongst the officers of General Bonaparte's family. He wrote a letter when he was passing here to Cipriani, the maître-d'hôtel (both Corsicans), saying General Bonaparte would never be at ease whilst these Frenchmen were quarrelling amongst themselves about him. The cause of the *present* alienation of General Bonaparte from General Gourgaud I have not been able precisely to learn. The latter was disputing with him about the Russian campaign, and [also] telling him he ought to have put himself at the head of the army of the Loire instead of giving himself up to the English, which irritated General Bonaparte exceedingly. This is all I know, but it seems to me as not improbable General Bonaparte may have been dissatisfied at something he may have said or done, or something he may not have been willing to say or do, to the Commissioners, as he has been reproaching him with want of moral courage. Some scene will ensue or time will develop. . . . .

"P.S. I have just received a note from Longwood, mentioning that General Bonaparte met General Gourgaud at dinner again yesterday, and it is supposed matters are made up between them."

This was, however, only a temporary reconciliation. At all events, Baron Gourgaud found his position by no means comfortable, and, as will be seen hereafter, he at last determined not to remain where he was exposed to the ill-temper of his companions in exile. He was the least complaining of all the French officers, and did not agree with them in pretending that the conduct of the Governor was harsh or unkind. About this very time he expressed himself strongly to Count Balmain, the Russian Commissioner, in disapprobation of the mode in which Bonaparte had conducted himself towards Sir Hudson Lowe personally, and said that if he had been in the Governor's situation he would have acted with more rigour; making use of the expression, "*Je les aurais bloqués plus étroitement : il a cause de se plaindre.*" "I would have confined them more closely; he (i. e. Sir Hudson Lowe) has good right to complain." This coming from a person in Gourgaud's situation, who *must* have known the exact state of facts which have been made the subject of so much animadversion, is valuable testimony, as showing that, in the opinion of one at least of the party at Longwood, Bonaparte and not the Governor was in the wrong.

On the 18th of August O'Meara wrote a long letter to Mr. Finlaison, containing a narrative of the incidents relating to the bust and Mr. Elphinstone's present of chessmen. He also detailed the particulars of a conversation he had with the Governor on the 17th of July, which nearly correspond with what he has printed in his book;[1] and after mentioning that Bonaparte had told him on the 20th that he had found Sir Pulteney Malcolm one of the most zealous defenders of the Governor, and that he supported him

[1] See 'Voice,' vol. ii. pp. 128, 130.

in every measure, O'Meara's adds, "To my knowledge the Admiral endeavoured to justify him with Bonaparte in some things in which he really thought he had gone too far, but in which still he thought it advisable to appear to support him, in order not to manifest to Bonaparte that any difference of opinion with respect to his treatment existed between the heads of the military and the naval department. In my humble opinion Sir Hudson has badly fulfilled the intentions of Government: for by his harsh treatment of Bonaparte, especially by stinting him in the necessaries of life, he had made even those who were his greatest enemies pity him—and pity is nearly akin to liking; independent of his having caused a subject to be agitated and discussed which it were to be wished should as much as possible sink into oblivion."

It will be observed that O'Meara here asserts in his letter that Sir Hudson Lowe stinted Bonaparte *in the necessaries of life.* If this charge were true, nothing more need be said by his enemies, for the public would be readily disposed to imagine the worst misconduct on the part of an officer who could behave with such miserable meanness towards those committed to his charge. But let us see what O'Meara means by the term "necessaries of life." On the very next day, the 19th of August, he had a long conversation with the Governor, at which Major Gorrequer was present, when the reduction which had taken place in the expenses of the establishment at Longwood was discussed, and Sir Hudson remarked that both Sir Pulteney Malcolm and himself were always of opinion that 12,000*l.* a-year ought to be amply sufficient. Major Gorrequer tells us that then "O'Meara answered *it would have been quite sufficient with English people, but was of opinion it was not suffi-*

cient for French; that they used 30 *lbs. of beef in soup every day, which was boiled down to rags and not fit for anything else afterwards;* their *consommés* required a great deal of meat, and they ate two dinners in the day. The Governor said if they chose to make use of their meat in that kind of way there was no saying what would be enough; a couple of hams or 100 lbs. of meat would go little way in *consommés*, but had there ever been a want? *Mr. O'Meara said he did not mean to say there had been a want, but there certainly was not enough to keep a good table.*"

It appears, therefore, that what O'Meara in his letter called "stinting Bonaparte in the necessaries of life" was a check put to what Englishmen would describe as extravagant waste, and it was surely his duty not to sanction expenditure on a scale which permitted thirty pounds of meat daily to be boiled down for soup alone. But without this explanation, all who put credence in his first statement would have imagined that the French were reduced to little short of absolute want.[1]

In the course of the same conversation, according to Major Gorrequer, "the Governor asked Mr. O'Meara since what period these violent attacks had been made on him by General Bonaparte. He answered, since the speech of Lord Bathurst; he had never expressed himself in so violent a manner before, and for a good while previous to his reading the speech he had not shown any feeling of that sort. The Governor said it was all feigned, all acting; he really did

[1] While on the subject of provisions we may mention that, on the 2nd of September, O'Meara stated in conversation to the Governor that he had in three or four instances sent back meat which was fly-blown, but that the meat sent up for a long time past had been extremely good. In the case of the meat sent back the Governor was not informed of the circumstance at the time.

not believe it proceeded from personal dislike alone, though he was endeavouring to have it so believed in Europe, and by that means try and have him recalled from this government; the fact was, General Bonaparte found him in his way. He (the Governor) was however merely an instrument here to execute the instructions of his Government. It could not, therefore, be a dislike to his person, but because he did his duty and he stood in the way of their communication. Mr. O'Meara said he had no doubt General Bonaparte would be glad of the Governor's recal; he did not think one man could have more dislike for another than he had for the Governor; that the Governor should not be surprised at his disliking him, as it was on his arrival the alterations had been made in Sir George Cockburn's regulations. . . . . Mr. O'Meara afterwards, when on the subject of the complaints at Longwood, remarked that it was very unfortunate there had ever been any reduction in the allowance for the expenditure of the establishment, for it was one of those things which Englishmen would cry out most against. The Governor said that was a subject which, at all events, they could not bring against him as a personal one, for that he had taken upon his own responsibility to add one-half more than the sum directed by Government, and that General Montholon had told Major Gorrequer that what was said in his letter to the Governor was not intended to apply to him, but to the Government; that besides, complaints had never been made to him of deficiencies, but what had been immediately attended to. . . . . The Governor asked, 'Are they now sufficiently supplied, or are there any complaints?' He answered, 'They are now amply supplied, certainly;' that there was no complaint. Mr. O'Meara also spoke about the plate,

and the effect this and the want of a sufficient allowance for the supply of provisions had produced,—that it was a subject of common conversation."

A few days afterwards however, in another conversation, Sir Hudson Lowe having observed that, at the very time when the plate was broken up on pretence of a want of money, Bonaparte offered to give Mr. Balcombe a bill for 30,000*l.*, "Mr. O'Meara," says Major Gorrequer, "here fully acknowledged he thought the breaking up of the plate had been for the purpose of producing an effect."

At the former interview Sir Hudson commented on the fact of O'Meara having permitted General Montholon to leave his letter to the Governor in O'Meara's room, upon his having repeated at Sir Pulteney Malcolm's the observations made by Bonaparte on Lord Bathurst's speech, and of having been the medium of delivering newspapers at Longwood without his authority; and he said that, previous to these occurrences, he knew of no reason to be dissatisfied with O'Meara's conduct, but these were circumstances to shake his confidence, and he certainly had not had the same confidence in him since. O'Meara justified himself about the delivery of the newspapers by saying that the Governor had known in several instances of his having done so, and mentioned the case of the newspaper which contained an account of the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, when Sir Hudson did not express any disapprobation. He added that after all these were not very high crimes and misdemeanors. The Governor however said that they were not matters to be treated with levity, and that he considered them of a much more important nature than O'Meara seemed to be aware of. He also mentioned "that he had not forgotten he had told him he would give him some

written instructions, but it was difficult to make them out. If there was confidence on both sides they were unnecessary; if there was not, they were useless."[1]

The obstinate refusal of Bonaparte to take exercise, so long as the regulation was in force requiring him to be attended by a British officer if he rode beyond his limits, was beginning to tell seriously upon his health, and on the 27th of September O'Meara informed the Governor that a swelling of the lower extremities had taken place and was increasing. His appetite also was not so good as formerly, and he complained of want of rest at night. For these symptoms O'Meara said that he had recommended some medical remedies, and, above all, exercise on horseback. In consequence of this report Sir Hudson went the next day to Longwood, attended by Sir Thomas Reade and Major Gorrequer, and had a long interview with Count Bertrand, expressing his solicitude about Napoleon's health, and suggesting that Mr. Baxter should be called in and consulted. Bertrand spoke with much bitterness and warmth on the subject of the restrictions, which he said were the reason why the Emperor did not take exercise, and this was the sole cause of his malady. After considerable discussion on this point, the Governor said, it was best to come at once to the object which had brought him there, which was, that, as the tent which had been last year constructed in consequence of Bonaparte's wish to have a sheltered place in the garden near the house, where he might not be exposed to the sun, now no longer existed, it had occurred to him that something more durable and of greater extent, might be substituted. "He would therefore beg Count Ber-

[1] Major Gorrequer's Minutes.

trand to propose the erection of a wooden barrack, such as those used by the regiment at Deadwood, which, being in pieces ready to put together, might be got up before the great summer heats began. If General Bonaparte approved of it, it would be erected in such part of the garden as he himself might cause to be pointed out, and with some decoration inside. A large saloon would thus be formed which would afford him a space of sixty or eighty feet in length to walk in. Count Bertrand remained for some time silent, apparently absorbed in what he had himself been speaking of, or disconcerted at the different turn given to the conversation, when the Governor said, 'Est-ce que vous ne m'entendez pas, Monsieur?' He replied, 'Oui;' then observed, that the 'Emperor' had expressed a dislike to having workmen employed near the house. The Governor explained that the building was of such a nature that it would require few men to put it up, and but a very short time to finish it—it was only a temporary erection, by no means such as he would wish to build for General Bonaparte, nor was it 'convenable' for any other purpose than to procure in the quickest possible way a space for him to walk in where he would find shade from the sun when the summer heat commenced. Nor, indeed, had he ever considered Longwood House as a suitable residence for him; rooms might have been added, it is true, but General Bonaparte did not appear to wish it, and had objected to workmen being employed there; it was at all events only joining new parts to old without durability or solidity. He had represented the state of the building to Government between two and three months since, and applied for instructions about it; meantime this wooden building might be found useful, at all events for the purposes

he then proposed it, even better than the tent, and more durable. Count Bertrand said he would inform the 'Emperor.' The Governor then rose and took his leave, saying, as he was going out of the room, '*La seule restriction qu'il y a est la présence d'un officier Anglais.*' The Count shrugged up his shoulders and made no reply."[1]

Bertrand communicated to Bonaparte the purport of the Governor's visit, and, on the 30th of September, addressed a letter to him, in which he gave a deplorable account of Bonaparte's health, saying that his very existence during the last six weeks had been extremely painful, that the doctors, who attributed it all to want of exercise, would tell him that there was no time to be lost, and that in three or four weeks perhaps it would be too late.[2] Bertrand complained bitterly of the restrictions, and said, "The question may be put in two words: Do you wish to kill the Emperor? If you persist in your conduct you will yourself have declared in the affirmative, and, unhappily, the object will probably be attained after a few months' suffering." But not the slightest notice was taken in the letter of Sir Hudson Lowe's offer to send Mr. Baxter. Count Bertrand told him that he had mentioned to Bonaparte his proposal "to set up a soldiers' wooden barrack near the house, where the Emperor might walk," which he, however, regarded as a mockery and of a piece with the manner in which he had been treated for the last two years. Bertrand added, "Allow me to observe, Sir, that unless you suppress the restrictions of the 9th of October, 1816, and 14th of March, 1817, and if you do not re-estab-

[1] Major Gorrequer's Minutes.

[2] See this letter at the end of the volume.

lish things, at least, as they were in the time of the Admiral, the Emperor cannot go out."

Sir Hudson Lowe commented fully on the contents of this letter in a despatch which he forwarded to Earl Bathurst at the end of the year, and from which extracts have already been given when we considered the question of the altered regulations.[1] We will add here a few more quotations.[2] Sir Hudson said,—

"If Napoleon Bonaparte has not thought fit to take exercise, it is entirely his own fault. His limits altogether comprehended a space of about twelve miles; he had within this a space of four miles to walk or ride about in absolute privacy, unseen by any individual except those of his own family, and such very few persons having business on the spot as can create no impediment or intrusion whatever; within this space no sentries are placed. He had further an extent of about eight miles within the same limits where he was liable to meet different persons, but none who were likely to interfere with or intrude upon him. If he desired to take the whole circuit of his limits, viz. about twelve miles, there was until recently a space of about four, intervening between the road which formed the boundary to the southward and Longwood, consisting of ravines, which would be usually considered as impracticable; but at the top and in the hollows of which there were several inhabitants' houses as well as habitations of free blacks and of slaves. This part he was requested not to traverse; he had revolted at the idea of being requested not to enter houses except in the presence of a British officer,

[1] See vol. i. pp. 335-343.

[2] The rest of the letter not given in the text here and previously will be found at the end of the volume.

and these were therefore not placed within his limits —a reserve being held on this point until some guarantee could be obtained, and which I had reason given me to suppose he was not on the whole adverse to affording. Previous, however, to receiving Count Bertrand's letter, the whole of the space had been laid open to him. It has been since laid open to the whole of his officers and domestics.

"The proposal of building another house for him could only spring from a desire to add to his comforts or to evince attention to his former situation; but it met one of those disgusting repulses with which almost every such offer of attention has been received. This 'baraque de soldats,' as it is called, is a temporary wooden building of about seventy feet long and twenty wide, which I offered to have fitted up, painted, and decorated in a handsome manner as a kind of saloon or summer-house (like one of the Knightsbridge houses), to be put up in any part of his garden which Napoleon Bonaparte might choose, in the place of a tent which had before existed. It was so constructed that it required only a fortnight or three weeks to put it up, and it would have added more to his comfort and accommodation within a short space of time than anything else I could have possibly done for him, except giving him up the Plantation House, which the orders of the East India Company forbade. It was further distinctly explained to Count Bertrand, at the time the offer was made, that it was merely as a temporary building—a substitute for a tent. The reply, however, was precisely what I foretold it would be when I made the offer. I know of no house which offers the advantages thus spoken of, Plantation House excepted. Longwood House is the next best house in the country: there is none else which can in any way

compare with it. In fact, the best house after Longwood may be considered to be that built close to it for Count Bertrand. Within his present limits there is a house the most agreeably situated perhaps on the island, and with the most trees about it, known to every person who has ever visited St. Helena under the name of Miss Mason's. This house and garden I have offered to hire for his use during the summer, or until instructions may arrive respecting the new house for him, but no acknowledgment has been made for it. I have offered also a greater extension of limits, under certain precautions of the least possible restraint upon him: it remains equally without acknowledgment. Nothing has ever impeded his taking exercise on horseback, for whatever restraints he might have imagined in the Regulation of the 9th of October whilst it lasted, or in that of the 14th of March, which only applied to a particular part of his limits, there has been nothing to prevent his taking as much exercise as he pleased, either in a carriage, on foot, or on horseback, within his own grounds at Longwood. The real fact is, that, from whatever cause proceeding, he has for a long time past left off taking any exercise on horseback, and he cannot with any show of justice ascribe it to the restrictions alone, for during several months after my arrival he went out almost daily in his carriage round the grounds of Longwood, and never during that time mounted a horse. This can be regarded in no other light than as a menace he would put himself to death, unless I comply with his demands, and then accuse me as his assassin. This is a base defamatory insinuation which it is beneath me to reply to."

Let every candid reader fairly consider the contents of this letter, and then ask himself whether there was

anything in the restrictions, properly understood, to justify the language of abuse which has been bestowed upon them, and upon the Governor for enforcing them; and whether it was not a wicked perversion of truth to describe his offer to minister to Napoleon's comfort by the erection of a wooden saloon as a mockery and an insult.

About this time despatches from Lord Bathurst were received by the Governor, in which the question was discussed how far the regulations in force could be fairly considered to interfere with the exercise which a due regard to the preservation of Bonaparte's health required. The Colonial Secretary expressed his full approval of all the measures adopted by Sir Hudson Lowe, and said that Bonaparte imposed upon himself restraints which did not necessarily grow out of the restrictions themselves. But he added,—

"Nevertheless, if it shall appear that his having the permission to go over the whole range of the enclosure, twelve miles in circumference, without the attendance of an officer would reconcile him to a freer use of exercise in the air, it may be advisable for you to consider whether, if the state of his health shall really render that indulgence necessary, you cannot make such arrangements as may enable you to consult his feelings in this particular, although it does not appear that he has ever availed himself of the liberty when it was in his power to do so. But some allowance may reasonably be made for the caprice which ill-health, sorrow, and disappointment are apt to excite even in minds under better discipline and of a happier disposition. There is not, however, any reason for extending this indulgence to his followers, except when in immediate attendance on him."

It was no doubt an anxious office which Sir Hudson

Lowe had to perform. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the difficulty of his position. To mark the precise line between restriction and indulgence—to reconcile his duty as Governor, responsible for the safe custody of Napoleon, with a desire to alleviate as much as possible the irksome restraint of his captivity, required the union of firmness and gentleness, kindness and tact, and a degree of discretion rarely to be met with. And yet this was what the instructions from the English Government properly required. While they insisted upon the *fortiter in re*, they did not wish Sir Hudson Lowe to forget the *suaviter in modo*, although every attempt on his part to conciliate had been rejected with contumely and rude repulse. Lord Bathurst had thus written to him in the early part of the year:—

"I have only therefore to express my satisfaction that you have already anticipated that part of my instructions which relates to allowing General Buonaparte every relaxation and indulgence in any degree conducive to his health or comfort, so long as they are not incompatible with the security of his person; for as, on the one hand, it is the earnest wish of the Prince Regent that there should be no restraints placed on General Buonaparte beyond what the safe custody of his person requires, so, on the other hand, it would be unwarrantable to remove any which are necessary for the due execution of this important trust."

It would be a disagreeable and fatiguing task to pursue at any length the petty details of alleged grievances connected with the supply of articles at Longwood, the sum total of which amounts to this, that now and then accidental deficiencies occurred, such as could not but sometimes happen in furnishing so large an establishment in an island so little favoured by nature as St.

Helena. It would rather disgust than interest the reader to chronicle with accuracy every complaint, if the beef chanced to be fly-blown or the mutton indifferent, or there was not enough water to fill the baths, which were in such constant requisition by Napoleon. All these matters of temporary inconvenience have been already made known to the world, and form no inconsiderable items in the catalogue of offences with which Sir Hudson Lowe has been charged. Every mistake or neglect of the purveyor has been visited on his head, as though he personally superintended and was responsible for all the arrangements for the supply of the kitchen and larder at Longwood. But what is of importance to be known is, that from time to time, as soon as he was informed that any complaint of this kind existed, immediate steps were taken to remedy what was amiss, so far as means for that purpose were in his power. It is not too much to say that Sir Hudson Lowe, throughout the whole of his correspondence, displays an almost nervous anxiety to furnish everything on the most liberal scale that could contribute to the material comforts of Napoleon and his suite. And it must be remembered that many things which might have been put right in a moment, if Napoleon had not resolutely determined to have no personal intercourse with the Governor, assumed the appearance of a much greater degree of magnitude and importance than they deserved, when they were allowed to accumulate for the purpose of being set forth as grievances in diplomatic style by Las Cases, Bertrand, or Montholon. When, under the date of the 11th of May, 1817, O'Meara tells us[1] that the quantity of wood and coals allowed were not nearly sufficient, and that he, at Count Montholon's request,

[1] Voice, vol. ii. p. 31.

represented this to the Governor, who, after some discussion, said that he would give orders for an additional supply, it might be inferred that the French were improperly stinted in the use of these necessary articles; that from parsimony, or a worse motive, Sir Hudson Lowe was reluctant to allow them more. But what were the facts? On the 9th of May Major Gorrequer thus wrote to O'Meara from Plantation House, addressing him as "Dear Doctor:"—

"The moment you left me yesterday I wrote to Mr. Fowler, desiring he would despatch an additional supply of wood and coals to Longwood as soon as he possibly could this morning. I have since received the Governor's instructions to order that the future quantity of coals shall be doubled, making ten bags a-day instead of five (the present quantity furnished), and the supply of wood to remain the same as now. This arrangement is made in consequence of the urgent necessity which exists to avoid as much as possible the destruction of wood in the island—an article so scarce here as to afford very little resource, and the use of which it is consequently most important to economise. At Plantation House (an establishment not less numerous than that of Longwood), where two kitchen fires are constantly kept, and a laundry besides, which requires more fuel than the cooking, only five bags of coals are used daily and no wood. The present arrangement would, therefore, appear to offer an ample supply, for though warm baths are used at Longwood there is no laundry."

While anxious, however, not to weary the reader with a minute account and refutation of every complaint made by the French exiles, I do not forget that an aggregate of small discomforts might materially

affect their position at Longwood, and if these were caused by the wilful conduct of the Governor abusing his power they would be acts of vexatious tyranny: and of such conduct he has been from first to last accused. It is therefore indispensable that we should examine generally the alleged facts, and see whether they bear the interpretation which has been put upon them. For this reason it is proper to say a few more words respecting the fuel grievance.

The intimation contained in Major Gorrequer's letter of the 9th of May was construed by the French into a refusal to furnish more wood than a certain stated allowance, even although the stock was exhausted; and accordingly, when this happened to occur on the 4th of September, instead of applying for an increase, the servants broke up a bedstead and some shelves to replenish the fires at Longwood. O'Meara saw this, and spoke to Montholon on the subject, who merely referred to the letter of the 9th of May, and said that if an application had been made the same answer would have been returned. Next day O'Meara had a conversation with Sir Hudson Lowe on what had happened, and stated, in the words of Major Gorrequer, who was present, "that General Bonaparte did not like coals, and that he had been obliged at times to leave Madame Montholon's room from his dislike to them; that wood was used in warming their baths, as it was more expeditiously done than with coals. He further declared he had himself told General Bonaparte that a supply of wood had been sent by the Governor's orders the day before, as soon as he was informed of its being wanted, and that it was a pity an application was not made to the Governor for an increase. General Bonaparte answered he did not wish to have anything asked for when he could pay

for it himself. The Governor observed this was always the way: they never would tell what they required, and then complained of the want of it; that he had ever desired a list might be given in of what they wished for from England, in order that it should be indented for [*i. e.* put into the indent or list sent to England], but could not obtain it. Mr. O'Meara said he had himself asked General Bertrand for a list of what articles they would require from England, as above mentioned, who answered, '*Qu'il ne se mêlait pas de ces choses-là.*'"

O'Meara afterwards, on the 14th, wrote to Major Gorrequer, and told him that he had, according to the directions of Sir Hudson Lowe, explained to Bonaparte that the Governor had made a calculation of the quantity of fuel which would be necessary for Longwood, not by a comparison with a small establishment, but with the largest on the island, Plantation House; and that he had thought allowing twice as much coals as were consumed there, together with three hundredweight of wood daily over and above, would have proved sufficient; that, besides, no complaints had been made; that if any representations had been laid before him he would have increased the quantity, and that he had now given orders for an immediate increase in the quantity of wood. Bonaparte replied that they did not choose to expose themselves to a refusal, or to a similar answer to the one they had already received, viz. that there was not wood enough in the island; that there was too much coals furnished, and too little wood; that, even allowing his preferring wood to coals was a whim,[1] and that he had not that delicacy of smell which he pos-

[1] "The wood was allowed expressly for the fires in his rooms."—*Note by Sir Hudson Lowe.* See the Governor's account of this incident in a letter to Earl Bathurst at the end of the volume.

sessed, he saw no reason why he should not indulge it; that the Governor caused fuel to be furnished like bread, a certain quantity daily, without paying any attention to the seasons.[1]

When O'Meara spoke to General Montholon, and showed him the letter of the 9th of May, that officer replied that they were not obliged to regulate their conduct by what was done at Plantation House; that because the Governor did not choose to burn fires they were not obliged to follow his example; that, moreover, there were only three or four fireplaces at Plantation House, and twenty-three at Longwood;[2] that also they were natives of a more southern climate than the English, and stood in need of fires; that Longwood was so damp that even with fires constantly burning in the rooms Madame Montholon's clothes were spoiled by the humidity; that fires were absolutely necessary for the preservation of their health; that he did not like to beg for a few pounds of wood and receive the same answer as they had before—that there was not enough of wood on the island. He also added that he did not intend to ask for anything more; that he had gone to town and paid 35*l.* for a carpet for his wife's room, for which he asked before repeatedly in vain.[3]

In the same letter to Major Gorrequer O'Meara said, "I informed General Bonaparte that some months past the quantity of wood had been fixed at

[1] "It was at the change of season the quantity was increased."—*Note by Sir Hudson Lowe.*

[2] "The number of fires at Plantation House daily in winter are from nine to eleven; at Longwood, when the calculation was made, in May, fourteen. They must burn a fire in every room to make up the rest, whilst the English living in the *same house*, and the officers with their families at the camp, use no fires at all."—*Note by Sir Hudson Lowe.*

[3] "A carpet was sent up, but rejected, as not being sufficiently good for Madame Montholon's drawing-room."—*Note by Sir Hudson Lowe.*

three hundredweight daily, which, together with ten bags of coals daily, was considered sufficient; that, however, I was convinced, had an application been made to the Governor stating that it was not enough, it would have been remedied." And he adds that he observed to Bonaparte "that there certainly was a scarcity of wood in the island, which rendered the consumption of coals desirable. He replied, 'If the Governor says anything to you about it, you may tell him that I said everything ought to be cheap here, and that were it not for the monopoly of the East India Company it would be so; that where the sea is open everything ought to be cheap. However,' continued he, 'to do him justice, I believe he would if he could effect it, and that he has tried to do so.'"[1]

Alas! who can read the narrative of these undignified disputes without calling to mind the lines of Byron?—

"Yes! where is he, the champion and the child
Of all that's great or little, wise or wild?
Whose game was empires, and whose stakes were thrones—
Whose table earth—whose dice were human bones?
Behold the grand result in yon lone isle,
And, as thy nature urges, weep or smile,
Sigh to behold the eagle's lofty rage
Reduced to nibble at his narrow cage;
Smile to survey the queller of the nations
Now daily squabbling o'er disputed rations;
Weep to perceive him mourning as he dines
O'er curtail'd dishes and o'er stinted wines;
O'er petty quarrels upon petty things:
Is this the man who scourged or feasted kings?
Behold the scales on which his fortune hangs—
A surgeon's statement and an earl's harangues;
A bust delayed, a book refused, can shake
The sleep of him who kept the world awake!"

[1] Let the reader compare the above statement of facts, taken from Major Gorrequer's Minutes and O'Meara's own letter, with the account given by the latter in his book ('Voice,' vol. ii. pp. 195, 196), and he will see what an adept the writer was in the art of misrepresentation.

CHAPTER XVI.

PROPOSAL FOR THE EXTENSION OF NAPOLEON'S LIMITS — CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SIR HUDSON LOWE AND COUNT BERTRAND — OBSERVATIONS BY NAPOLEON ON LORD BATHURST'S SPEECH, ADDRESSED TO LORD LIVERPOOL — NAPOLEON AND THE OFFICERS OF THE FIFTY-THIRD REGIMENT — REGULATIONS AT THIS TIME IN FORCE — LETTERS ON THE SUBJECT BETWEEN COUNT BERTRAND AND THE GOVERNOR — "APOSTILLE" WRITTEN BY BONAPARTE, AND SIR HUDSON LOWE'S REMARKS.

As O'Meara, on the 1st of October, gave an unfavourable report of Bonaparte's health, and said that he apprehended his patient might be suffering under an attack of chronic *hepatitis*, Sir Hudson Lowe wrote the next day, to Bertrand, as follows:—

"Having taken into consideration the objections which so strongly disincline General Bonaparte from taking any exercise on horseback within his present limits, I have the honour to signify to you for his information, that, although for nearly six months after my arrival in this island, when the whole of the space in the ravines between Longwood and the new road by Woody Ridge lay open to him, he never once rode in that direction; that he then only took exercise either within the grounds of Longwood or in the road to Hutt's Gate; that the new road by Woody Ridge, which embraces the whole circuit of his first limits, gives the same extent of riding ground of nearly twelve miles as before, in the only part of the space which would be usually considered as practicable for horse

exercise, unaccompanied by an officer; and finally, that the only real restraint which General Bonaparte is under from riding or walking over any other part of the island arises from his own predominant objection against permitting an English officer to accompany or be near him,—I shall notwithstanding, in deference to the perseverance of his opinion on a point where he exposes his own health so much by it, make such an arrangement as will throw open to him the whole of the space between Longwood and the new road, thus enabling him to traverse it on foot or on horseback in any direction he may choose.

"The same latitude, however, I do not feel myself warranted in extending to the officers and other persons of his family (as the same motives do not apply to them), except at the time they may be in immediate personal attendance upon him."

This offer was not only refused, but the proposed arrangement was declared by Bonaparte to be more arbitrary and unjust than the former. According to O'Meara he characterised it as "mere *tracasserie*,"[1] and the objection was made that the posting of the sentries rendered it impossible for him to take exercise on horseback as his health required. In consequence of this the Governor again wrote to Count Bertrand stating that he had removed the obnoxious sentries;[2] and he added,—"I have, to give a still further proof of my desire to meet his view, where an objection may be still supposed to exist against his taking the horse exercise which is represented as so necessary to his health, resolved not to insist upon the exclusion of the

[1] Voice, vol. ii. p. 258.

[2] It will hardly be believed that, although O'Meara states at length Bonaparte's objection to the sentries ('Voice,' vol. ii. p. 258), he suppresses all mention of their removal!

officers and other persons of his suite from the use of the space of ground designated in my letter of the 2nd, when they are not in attendance upon him, but that the whole of the space shall be thrown open equally to them as to him, so that there can in such case be no mistake of persons, or any likelihood of interruption proceeding from such cause."

At the same time, however, Sir Hudson Lowe informed Count Bertrand, in a letter dated the 6th of October, that no consideration whatever would induce him to relinquish the regulation which prescribed that sentries should be placed round the garden at Longwood House after sunset, unless Bonaparte would consent to be accompanied by a British officer if he wished to take exercise outside the garden after that hour. He added, with reference to an intimation from Bertrand on the subject of Bonaparte's appellation,—

"I shall, Sir, with great pleasure accede to your suggestion of not again using the name of *General Bonaparte*, and adopting that of *Napoleon Bonaparte*. I have been accustomed to use the former, under the impression it was of the two the most respectful, and consequently the least likely to create offence. I forbear to make any comments, under the circumstances in which you are at present addressing me, on your own constant use of the title of *Emperor*, and the commanding tone of the demands which follow after it; but I cannot pass in total silence the general perversion or misrepresentation of every act and principle of my conduct, so apparent in your several letters, regretting to view so long as this predominates the impossibility which thus seems purposely placed in the way of any proper explanation or understanding."

To this letter Bertrand sent a reply, in which he said,—

"I have laid your letter of the 6th October before the Emperor. He answered me in these words: 'I am two thousand leagues from Europe, on a rock, at the mercy of my most implacable enemy, who, for the last eighteen months that he has been in this country, has not allowed a week to pass by without insulting and wounding me. This has obliged me to shut myself up in my apartment. Finding no guarantee in the rights of man, I must henceforth seek it only in the strict execution of the Act of Parliament of the 11th April, which limits the right of imposing restrictions to the Government, and does not give it to any individual. The absurd restrictions of the 9th October 1816 and 14th March 1817 are null; and I cannot go out till things are established on the same footing they were before these regulations; a state of things approved by the English Government, and which lasted for nine months without change, and which was itself very intolerable—which was a violation of all rights, but which, nevertheless, enabled me to go out. My health will be still more injured by the insults I must bear every moment from the wicked man who commands in this country.' Such, Sir, are the expressions of the Emperor. I have neither added nor omitted a single word; the Emperor desiring that I should write them from his dictation."

Surely we may ask how it was possible to deal with such a spirit of perversion, such resolved determination to be dissatisfied with every attempt to mitigate the inconveniences of captivity, and such systematic return of insult for proffered kindness?

It has been stated that in the month of March this

year a debate took place in the House of Lords respecting the treatment of Napoleon at St. Helena. The newspapers containing a report of the discussion reached St. Helena in June, and Bonaparte, who was naturally much disappointed at the result of Lord Holland's exertions on his behalf, denied the accuracy of Lord Bathurst's statements in the strongest language.[1] He also dictated a reply, which was not completed until the 5th of October. On the 7th of that month Sir Hudson Lowe received it from Count Bertrand, in a sealed packet addressed to Lord Liverpool.

This packet, when forwarded to its destination, was found to contain several sheets of observations upon Lord Bathurst's speech, having this memorandum prefixed to them:[2]—

"J'approuve ces observations. Je désire qu'elles soient mises sous les yeux du Souverain et des peuples d'Angleterre.

"Napoléon.

"Longwood, ce 5 Octobre, 1817."

Though it was, strictly speaking, the duty of the Governor to open this packet before transmitting it to England,[3] and though he had no doubt it contained

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[1] He said, "The reign of lies will not last for ever (*il regno di bugie non durerà per sempre*)." See 'Voice,' vol. ii. p. 75.

[2] The 'Observations,' with some notes upon them by Sir Hudson Lowe, are printed at the end of the volume.

[3] *Extract from Instructions given to Sir Hudson Lowe by Lord Bathurst respecting the transmission to England of letters from the French at Longwood.*

"Whatever he or they may think fit to address either directly to the Prince Regent or to me, or to any member of His Majesty's Government, your Excellency is aware, must be transmitted home, *provided it has been previously submitted to your perusal.* In this particular you are left without any discretion. Your knowledge of the contents affords you an opportunity of immediately vindicating yourself if the letter should contain

charges against himself, he determined to send it in the state in which he received it, with the seals unbroken.

But very different was the conduct of his accusers. Although they desired to conceal the contents of the letter as long as possible from him whom it attacked and whom it most concerned, a copy of it was sent at the same time with the original through a secret channel to England for publication, and another copy was also clandestinely forwarded by O'Meara to his correspondent at the Admiralty, Mr. Finlaison. Thus the poison of calumny was disseminated abroad long before Sir Hudson Lowe even knew, much less could reply to, the charges that were brought against him.

On the 10th of October Major Gorrequer had a long interview with Count Bertrand, and, according to O'Meara,[1] the latter then told the Major that the officers of the 53rd regiment, conceiving that there might be criminal intentions in the "mystery and obscurity" of the Governor's proceedings, had intimated to the French that they need not be afraid, for that in the 53rd there were "neither assassins nor executioners to be found." According to Major Gorrequer's report of the conversation, what Bertrand really did say to him was simply that the officers of the 53rd had expressed to the Emperor their surprise at seeing the French excluded from all society.[2] This,

matter of charge against you, and the assurance that whatever complaints they may make must be laid before the Prince Regent secures to them the best protection against any oppression."

[1] Voice, vol. ii. p. 273.

[2] It was the habit of Napoleon's partizans to represent Longwood as shrouded in mystery and gloom, and its inmates as secluded from visitors. The following note from the orderly officer, which is otherwise unimportant, may be quoted to show how little truth there was in the assertion:—

"To LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

"Sir, "Longwood House, September 29, 1817.

"Nothing extraordinary has taken place at Longwood. Mr. Barker,

however, was sufficient to require some explanation, and Sir George Bingham, the Colonel of the 53rd, accompanied by Colonel Wynyard, called upon Count Bertrand for the purpose of having the matter cleared up. Bertrand at once admitted that he had made the remark which Major Gorrequer had reported, but said, "It is the Emperor's affair, not mine;" and this was the only answer they could obtain from him. In reporting this interview to the Governor, Sir George Bingham said,—

"Did the 2nd battalion of the 53rd regiment any longer exist as a corps, I am certain the officers would immediately come forward and refute an assertion which I can affirm has no foundation. They know that ever since Napoleon Bonaparte has been established at Longwood no person has ever been admitted to visit him without a pass, and they could have known of no period when this regulation was altered, or when passes were refused; but the fact speaks for itself: if the intercourse had been entirely suspended, what opportunity could the officers have had of expressing these sentiments which are attributed to them?"

Mr. Porteous, and Brevet-Major Harrison, visited Longwood on Thursday. Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard called upon General Montholon. Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. Dodgin, and Lieutenant Jackson, called upon Count Bertrand. General Bonaparte walked out for about a quarter of an hour. On Friday Mr. Balcombe called upon Count Bertrand, where he met General Bonaparte. Major Scale, Mr. Porteous, and Mr. Bayley passed into the grounds on Saturday; Mr. Cole visited Longwood; Mr. A. Scale and Mr. Wells passed into the grounds. On Sunday Baron and Baroness Stürmer, and Count Balmain, passed the outer gate and had interviews with General Montholon, Count and Countess Bertrand. I accompanied General Montholon to James Town on Thursday, and General Gourgaud on Saturday. Mr. Pain has been at work here daily. I remain, &c.

"H. Blakeney."

In order to promote Napoleon's comfort and secure him a more agreeable residence than Longwood during the summer months, Sir Hudson Lowe applied to Miss Mason, who resided at a house called Pleasant Mount, which was situated in one of the best parts of the island in respect of the shade of trees and water, the absence of which Bonaparte chiefly complained of at Longwood, and inquired on what terms she would part with it. Miss Mason signified her readiness to let the house at 100*l.* a month, and the next day Sir Hudson wrote to Count Bertrand, stating the advantages of the situation, and telling him that if Napoleon would accept the house it was at his disposal for the summer months. *To this letter no answer was ever returned.*

It will be useful to see exactly what were the Regulations now in force, and we therefore subjoin a list of them as sent to Count Bertrand on the 26th of October, with an assurance from the Governor that it was not his intention to make any alteration, unless under circumstances altogether unforeseen.

"LIMITS.

"Longwood and the plain of Deadwood, with all the space lying between Longwood and the new road by Woody Ridge, the road by Hutt's Gate in front of the Alarm-house, as far as Mr. Brooke's, and returning from thence to Longwood, either by the same road or the upper footpath that leads through the grounds of Dr. Kay and Mr. Torbett, are established as the limits during the day.[1]

[1] It will thus be seen that the limits now embraced more space than had been conceded by Sir George Cockburn, for in his time the road by Hutt's Gate to the Alarm-house and Mr. Brooke's grounds were not included in them.

"After sunset sentries will be placed round the garden enclosure of Longwood House, extending as far as the lodge at the entrance of the grounds.

"The limits will be considered as closed when the sentries are posted, which will be, usually, at about a quarter of an hour after the evening-gun has fired, and before it begins to grow dark.

"Should Napoleon Bonaparte be desirous of extending his ride beyond the limits during the day-time, or desire to remain out after the evening sentries are placed, an English officer will be constantly in waiting to attend upon him.

"At nine o'clock sentries will be placed round the house as heretofore.

"VISITS.

"Officers of the Army and Navy, respectable inhabitants of the island, and strangers touching at it, whose names may have been sent to or left at Longwood, will be permitted to visit there as heretofore, upon application to the Governor, or to their respective authorities, with the concurrence of Napoleon Bonaparte himself, or upon an invitation from him.

"CORRESPONDENCE.

"It is enjoined to the Governor, by his instructions, that all letters addressed to Napoleon Bonaparte or his attendants must be first read by him before they are delivered to the persons to whom they are addressed, and that all letters written by him or them must be subject to the same regulation. (He is further instructed not to allow of any communication excepting through his agency.)

"Pursuant to the above instructions, no correspondence by letter, note, or otherwise, can be allowed to

take place without his knowledge or assent. To facilitate, however, the transmission of cards of invitation, or any open note or paper, on urgent and indispensable business within the island, where an inconvenient delay might arise in sending it to the Governor, the orderly officer stationed at Longwood is instructed to receive and transmit it at once to its address, informing the Governor, when required, of the same. All other letters and papers whatever it is requested may be delivered to the orderly officer, under a sealed envelope, to the address of the Governor, who will use the same method for those which he may transmit through the orderly officer to them. All Regulations not expressed under any of the above heads will remain in force as heretofore established."

In the hope of inducing Bonaparte to see Mr. Baxter, Sir Hudson Lowe sent a memorandum to Count Bertrand, in which he said,—

"The Governor desires to make known that, although his instructions require he should be furnished with reports during indisposition, he does not attach particular importance to receiving them in writing, nor does he know if such reports should be delivered that there is any intention of rendering them public. He therefore begs leave to propose that Mr. Baxter's visits may be admitted on the two following grounds:—

"1st. That Napoleon Bonaparte may receive the first medical advice which the island can afford.

"2nd. That information respecting the state of health of a person who has filled so large a space in the eyes of the world, and who must always engage so much of the public attention, may not, where it is required to be afforded, depend upon the report of one medical person alone, particularly where the reports

he presents may be, as they have been, at variance with reports received from other persons of Napoleon Bonaparte's confidence living in the same family."

On the 30th of September Count Bertrand wrote the letter to the Governor before alluded to,[1] which consisted of a tedious reiteration of complaints against the "restrictions of the 9th of October, 1816, and 14th of March, 1817." Its fairness may be judged of from the following extract:—"The new restrictions imposed by you on the 14th of March, 1817, direct that the Emperor is not to go beyond the limits of a road twelve feet wide; whence it follows that, if the Emperor should quit that road, or enter into any house, the sentinels might fire upon him. The Emperor cannot submit to be treated with this indignity." A good deal of correspondence ensued on the subject; and, departing here from the plan which we have hitherto pursued of giving in general in the narrative only material extracts, we shall insert, *in extenso*, two or three letters which passed about this time between Bertrand and the Governor; for it would be unjust to the memory of the latter not to give at length his reply, dated the 18th of November, 1817. Let the public carefully read that letter, and then determine whether language could have been used more moderate and dignified, and whether indignation ought not to rise at the manner in which his conduct was met at the time, and has been misrepresented since. It would, perhaps, have been difficult to find in the army an officer, or in the service of the state a civilian, who would have written a more unobjectionable letter under circumstances of grievous provocation.

[1] Vide p. 197, *ante*. The letter is printed at the end of the volume.

"To SIR HUDSON LOWE.

"Monsieur le Gouverneur, "Longwood, Oct. 27, 1817.

"I reply to your letters of the 9th and 14th October. I can only refer you to mine of the 30th September. During the month that has elapsed since I wrote it the health of the Emperor has become much worse. If you were to adopt the principle that all things should be re-established as they were on your arrival, a state of things (*état de choses*) approved of by your Government, it would be easy to ascertain in a single quarter of an hour, from twenty written documents and as many witnesses, what that state of things was. Yours of the 21st of this month relates to the letter I sent you on the 7th of October for Lord Liverpool; that letter has now been in your hands twenty days; it is the property of your Prime Minister.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"LE COMTE BERTRAND."

"Monsieur le Gouverneur, "Longwood, Nov. 13, 1817.

"I reply to the letters you did me the honour to write to me, dated respectively the 26th, 27th, and 28th October, all of which I received at the same time on the evening of the 28th. You have received mine of the 27th, which contains a sufficient answer to these. Allow me to refer to it, as also to my letter of the 30th September. The health of the Emperor continues in a bad state.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"LE COMTE BERTRAND."

"Sir, "St. Helena, Nov. 18, 1817.

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt

of your letter of the 13th inst., referring me again to that of the 30th September and 27th October. I had hoped mine of the 26th and 28th October would have rendered any further immediate notice of those letters unnecessary, but the references you have made compel me to again address you. As in the letter you addressed to me on the 27th ult., and in that of the 13th instant, you advert to the bad state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health, I cannot avoid expressing my surprise that you should not have transmitted any answer to my letter of the 6th of October, or that no effect should have followed from its transmission to you. I have certainly not drawn, nor shall I draw, any motive whatever from this omission, for withholding any act of attention or consideration which my means of information and the obstacles I have to encounter through my channels of communication with him will admit, for alleviating the effects of any malady with which he may be affected. It forms a specific part of my instructions from Earl Bathurst to afford every attention and indulgence which in sickness can be required, not incompatible with the due discharge of the trust reposed in me. I may execute, therefore, his Lordship's instructions on this head without the pretension to confer a favour or derive a personal merit by it.

"No misrepresentation of any act of mine, nor provocation of language, will make me deviate from this rule; but I feel it my duty at the same time to inform you that I cannot consider a representation from you alone of the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health as demanding official attention, unless the regulation which I transmitted to you with my letter of the 6th October is at the same time complied with. As an instance how little reliance I should be justified in placing on such communication, unsupported by

medical authority, I beg leave to observe that in your letter of the 27th ultimo you inform me that the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health was '*détérioré*' since you had begun first to address me. Having interrogated Mr. O'Meara, the only medical person he allows to approach him, I have been informed that since the 13th ult., the day on which Mr. O'Meara was placed under an interdict of transmitting to me any written reports of Napoleon Bonaparte's health, unless with the condition of giving to him the imperial title in them, until the last day of the same month, on which you addressed me, his health had been '*ameliorating.*' In reply to another passage of your letter to me of the 13th instant, wherein you say that yours of the 27th had replied sufficiently ('répond suffisamment') to mine of the 26th and 27th, I am to remark that I do not consider it presents any answer at all to mine of the 27th, but, on the contrary, that it avoids any direct reply to the matter of that letter, or of my note of the 21st on the same subject, and I am persuaded there is not a truly candid and impartial mind anywhere which (if the letter you enclosed to me on the 7th covers any complaint against me) will not view the silence observed as to its contents in the same light.

"In respect to the '*état de choses*' which you desire, Sir, to have re-established, I must beg leave to observe, that I know not in what any real difference exists between the Regulations as they at present stand and those I found established on my arrival here, except in the following instances:—

"1stly. The limits are confirmed to a greater extent than they were at the time of my first arrival, and a facility is granted of taking exercise beyond them which did not before exist: herein the difference is in

favour, as well as in the offer of a more shaded place of residence for the summer months.

"2ndly. The sentries are mounted round the garden after sunset, instead of being placed round the house nearly three hours after dark.

"This arrangement my Government has ordered. If it is necessary to place sentries at all, they can be least dispensed with during that time at night when persons are more liable than at any other to pass without observation. Sir George Cockburn had contemplated a similar arrangement, and was only prevented from carrying it into execution by the number of sentries it would employ. At all events this difference exists, and must continue to do so, but the extent of nearly a mile and a half, round which the sentries are placed, and the orders given for their being kept out of view from the garden, certainly tends as much as possible to diminish the restraint which the situation they are placed in may otherwise impose.

"3rdly. It was permitted to you during the time of Sir George Cockburn to send invitations to, and grant passes for, persons to visit Napoleon Bonaparte; and such notes of invitation or passes (as I understand the custom was), through whatever person sent, whether under a sealed envelope or otherwise, were permitted to be received at the guard in the same manner as the pass of a British authority.

"As the rule stands at present you have the permission to send an invitation from Napoleon Bonaparte, but it is to be transmitted through the orderly officer at Longwood: the only difference is, that it cannot be sent under a sealed envelope, or a note delivered in such state to any one unknown to me.

"You have stated to me Sir George Cockburn

allowed of a sealed correspondence within the island, and I have said he never acquainted me of any other note being allowed to be sent except an invitation to dinner. It is possible he may have allowed notes on trivial matters (arising probably out of the permission for notes of invitation) to pass unregarded. I have done the same myself. But, viewing the attempt to draw a precedent from a mere act of toleration, and to establish the same as a right or an indulgence of general admission, in contradiction of one of the most direct rules which the instructions of my Government have prescribed, I must only feel the more strongly opposed to such expectation.

"Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard remarked to you, if the permission you sought after was obtained it would be of no use to Napoleon Bonaparte himself, who never wrote to any one. Your reply was, it was because the rule existed, but if it was done away with he might have occasion to write as to-morrow. This marks the extent, Sir, to which, had I acceded to the representations you urged on the ground of domestic convenience, the authorization might have been availed of.

"I pretend not to impute to any one a design to abuse the permission if granted, but I cannot on such account relinquish the rule which stands opposed to it, nor sanction, by an act of my own authority, the means by which all its objects might be so readily eluded. I forbear, Sir, to draw any argument on this occasion from the style of correspondence I have occasionally observed to be used.

"In all other respects the state of things depends mostly upon Napoleon Bonaparte himself, for there is no reasonable degree of freedom or indulgence within the island of St. Helena which he cannot enjoy, on

the simple condition of his being attended by an English officer; but by what you have yourself said to me, it was upon your own responsibility you advocated the insurmountable prejudices and prepossessions stated to be existing on his mind upon this head as a ground for every exemption claimed, though such prejudices were known not to exist, or at least not to operate, on his first arrival here. It is thus all those relaxations which might have so naturally flowed from an easy and unforced compliance with the presence of a British officer, and with the mere forms of prescribed regulations on other points, have been so little enjoyed by him; and because I have not been willing to admit the force of every argument you offer, nor surrender up both my judgment and my duty to be guided by you on such points, I am to be slandered with every species of obloquy.

"You may derive a gratification, Sir, to your own mind from the idea that you are supporting Napoleon Bonaparte, and upholding him against the persecutions of the Government upon whom the charge of his custody has devolved, or of the officer who has the personal responsibility of that charge;—that you are administering consolation to him in his adversity and a screen against any supposed ills he may still have to endure;—but you have formed in fact, by the dictatorial and insulting tone of your communications (specifically that of the 30th September), the unprovoked and uncalled-for irritation of your manner and expressions when you personally address me (so apparent in your conversation on the 28th of September), by the mistaken notions you have conceived of the principles which actuate the British Government towards Napoleon Bonaparte, and of the system upon which I have strove [striven?] to regulate my own conduct towards

him, and by the causes before spoken of, a real impediment, so far as has rested upon your mode of intervention, to every proper understanding.

"You have referred to some observations of Sir P. Malcolm and their supposed effect upon me. I can refer with more justice to the opinion expressed by that officer to Napoleon Bonaparte himself of the line of conduct he conceived I ought to have observed towards you.[1] I mean not, Sir, to accuse either your intentions or your sincerity; I speak only of effects and consequences as I have observed them.

"It was a remark to me of the Count Las Cases, '*Il flottait encore lorsque* NOUS *avions déjà tranché sévèrement.*' He of whom Count Las Cases spoke has probably had to endure more from the indiscretion of his friends than the malice of his enemies.

"I have to observe in your letter of the 13th instant the little effect which has been produced by the concluding paragraph of my first letter to you of the 26th October. I must repeat, it is contrary to the spirit of *your* written declaration to use the word '*Empereur*' in any communication to me.

"I do not mean this letter, Sir, as a reply to the numerous misrepresentations of my acts and conduct contained in your letter of the 30th September, nor to the arguments, subversive of all due authority, which you attempt to deduce from them. I shall never condescend to vindicate myself to a person who addresses me as you have done, nor, still less, admit you to the privilege of discussing with me any question of right or principle as to the exercise of my authority here. The defamatory matter in that letter

[1] The Admiral told Napoleon that the Governor ought not to have tolerated the language used towards him by Bertrand and Montholon in their letters. See pp. 126-7 *ante*.

may require more distinct notice. This, and the indecorous manner in which you took the liberty to express yourself respecting me towards an officer of my own staff, Lieutenant-Colonel Wynyard, forms a breach of that respect which you owe to my authority, and consequently of one of the conditions under which your residence on this island is permitted; but whether it is an object or not to urge me to remove you from it (for which the orders of my Government, hitherto refrained from being acted upon, have been long since possessed), I shall still continue, though I may expose myself to censure by it, to exercise that forbearance on this point for which the peculiar situation of Napoleon Bonaparte can alone serve as my justification, without prejudice, however, to such future measures as the instructions of my Government may admit and circumstances appear to require.

"I have the honour, &c.

"H. Lowe, Lieut.-General."

The Governor wrote again on the 28th of the month to Bertrand, on the subject of the objection to his receiving from O'Meara bulletins of Bonaparte's health which had not been previously shown to the latter.

To this Count Bertrand sent the following reply, together with an "*apostille*" or endorsement made by Bonaparte himself on Sir Hudson's letter of the 18th:—

"Monsieur le Gouverneur, "Longwood, Nov. 29, 1817.

"I have received the letter you did me the honour to write to me under date of yesterday. I have not made the observations you attribute to me, for the Emperor has never objected to bulletins of the state of his health being made public. He is ill, and feels the double want of mental repose and bodily

exercise. All these annoyances are painful to him, as you will see by the note he has made on the back of your letter of the 18th instant, which I did not receive till the 22nd, which I could not communicate to him till the 23rd, and which I have delayed sending to you in the hope that all this writing was at an end. I have the honour to be, &c.

"LE COMTE BERTRAND."

"NOTE written by the EMPEROR on the back of the LETTER of SIR HUDSON LOWE, of the 18th of November, 1817.

"Longwood, Nov. 23, 1817.

"This letter, and those of the 26th July and 26th October last, are full of falsehoods. I have confined myself to my room for eighteen months in order to secure myself against the insults of this officer. At present my health is impaired; it no longer admits of my reading such disgusting writings; send me no more of them. Whether this officer thinks himself authorised by the verbal and secret instructions of his Minister, as he gives out, or he acts on his own impulse, which appears probable from the pains he takes to fret himself, I can only treat him as my assassin. If they had sent here a man of honour I should certainly have some torments the less, but they would have spared themselves the reproaches of Europe and of history, which the trashy writings of this crafty man cannot deceive."[1]

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[1] "Apostille écrite par l'Empereur au dos de la lettre de Sir Hudson Lowe, datée du 18 Novembre, 1817:—

"Cette lettre, celles des 26 Juillet et 26 Octobre dernier, sont pleines de mensonges. Je me suis renfermé dans mon appartement depuis 18 mois, pour me mettre à l'abri des outrages de cet officier. Aujourd'hui ma santé

On the 8th of December Sir Hudson Lowe transmitted his remarks on this "Apostille" to Count Bertrand enclosed in the following letter:—

"Sir, "St. Helena, December 8, 1817.

"I beg leave to enclose a copy of some remarks I have made on the 'Apostille' of which you transmitted the copy with your letter of the 29th of November. The insults conveyed in that paper I can view in no other light than as a sequel of your correspondence, and as a natural consequence of the mode of intervention you have employed. I wish to excite no additional disquiet or offence, but, attacked personally by Napoleon Bonaparte, he places me under the necessity of defending myself, for I cannot, by permitting such language to pass wholly unregarded, render myself the voluntary instrument of my own defamation. The assertions contained in the last paragraph of a former paper you transmitted to me with the same signature, dated 15th December, 1816, were not more injuriously meant or more unfounded.

"Mr. Baxter has confirmed to me the observations repeated in my letter of the 28th of November. I considered them as relative to what Mr. O'Meara had before acquainted me with. The substance of what I was informed of by him is as follows:—

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est affaiblie; elle ne me permet plus de lire de si dégoutants écrits; ne m'en remettez plus.

"Soit que cet officier se croie autorisé par des instructions verbales et secrètes de son ministre, comme il le fait entendre, soit qu'il agisse de son propre mouvement, ce qu'on pourrait arguer du soin qu'il prend à se dépiter, je ne puis le traiter que comme mon assassin.

"Si on eut envoyé dans ce pays un homme d'honneur, j'aurais quelques tourments de moins sans doute, mais on se fut épargné bien des reproches de l'Europe et de l'histoire, que le fatras d'écrits de cet homme astucieux ne saurait tromper.

"NAPOLÉON.

"Longwood, ce 23 Novembre, 1817."

"That you informed him it was the desire of Napoleon Bonaparte all bulletins regarding his health should be previously shown to him; and that he should not be styled otherwise in them than the 'Emperor Napoleon;' that, unless he complied with these conditions or did not write any, Napoleon Bonaparte would never see him more. Mr. O'Meara offered to write 'Napoleon,' or 'Napoleon Bonaparte,' but you told him this would not suffice. The title of 'Emperor' must be made use of. Napoleon Bonaparte afterwards himself required the same conditions from Mr. O'Meara, and further, that the bulletins must meet his approval; that Mr. O'Meara was not to be influenced to put down anything he liked; if any observation made appeared to him untrue, he was not to insert it, but he was to render no account of any symptom which either delicacy or other motives might induce Napoleon Bonaparte to wish to be kept secret. The original reports were then to be left in his hands or in yours. Either these conditions were to be complied with, or no written reports were to be presented. Mr. O'Meara was then required to give his word of honour that he would deliver none without submitting them to his perusal, and unless he consented to this Napoleon Bonaparte would never again see and consult him as a physician. That the reason he did not see Mr. Baxter was in order to avoid having bulletins made, and that whenever he did see him he would first require him to pledge his word of honour to make no written reports of his health without obtaining his permission, and first showing them to him for approval.

"Mr. O'Meara had decided the first point for himself, by saying he could not give the imperial title, and, whilst awaiting my determination on the others,

Napoleon Bonaparte (as Mr. O'Meara acquainted me) refused to take his medical advice or give any account of his symptoms, ascribing at the same time to my supposed expectation of still receiving written reports a design by it to deprive him of medical aid, in order to hasten more speedily his end. Not attaching any importance to receiving Mr. O'Meara's written reports, so long as he was not restricted (as he told me he was not) from giving me or Mr. Baxter such verbal information as it might be desired to obtain, I readily gave up the point on this head, and have since done the same with respect to Mr. Baxter.

"I am thus particular in recapitulating what passed in order that, if any misconception prevails, it may be rectified. Further, I beg leave to renew the offer of Mr. Baxter's advice, whether on the condition of not making written reports, except in the forms as above, or not writing any until the instructions of my Government are received. I have the honour, &c.

"H. LOWE."

SIR HUDSON LOWE'S REMARKS on the "APOSTILLE" written on his LETTER of the 18th of November, 1817, and signed "NAPOLEON."

"1. These letters are all addressed to Count Bertrand. Why does he not specify the passages, and refute the assertions they contain? for it is upon the ground of these letters and those they reply to he will be acted towards.

"2. What are the outrages complained of? Are they personal, written, verbal, or committed by those under me?

"Are the officers of Napoleon Bonaparte to write insulting and defamatory letters to me, and is my reply to be termed an outrage *to him?*

"Truths when made known to repel attack, and in

the discharge of my duty, cannot be qualified as such, to whomever addressed.

"If I offer medical assistance to a person who has attributed to me a design to deprive him of it, in order to hasten more speedily his end, this is not an outrage!

"Why did Count Bertrand not send this 'apostille' until after the offer was made?

"3. The 'ne m'en remettez plus' does not justify its non-acknowledgment.

"4. Here it is not merely insinuation; but an assertion is made in a form that admits refutation. Whoever has said I gave him to understand I had received verbal and secret instructions from my minister, has uttered what I never said to him or allowed him to understand; he has been a false and mischievous reporter.

"Napoleon Bonaparte being so grossly misled in this instance accounts for the deception practised on, or encouraged by, his mind in respect to others.

"I have no instructions from my Government which do not enjoin a considerate attention towards him; and I have endeavoured, so far as my means of communication have admitted, to evince it.

"5. He may take advantage of his position to use degrading and abusive epithets in return. I shall not, however, lose the sense of what I owe to myself, or to a person in his situation, by replying to them.

"6. 'Vous êtes un homme d'honneur! Voulez vous vous charger de cette commission ou de cette lettre?—si vous avez peur, ne le faites point; si vous voulez me servir, chargez vous en.'[1] Any person visiting at

[1] The Governor here describes the mode in which he supposes the inmates of Longwood to address a visitor appealing to his *honour* to induce him to carry letters clandestinely for them. His object is to show what Napoleon's idea of a "man of honour" was.

Longwood, and bound to the observance of the rules on which his visit was allowed there, would naturally startle at the words 'man of honour' if thus addressed to him; yet in this manner it has been attempted to show how some of the established rules might be eluded, and how unnecessary therefore the measures taken for enforcing them.

"I sought not the charge of Napoleon Bonaparte's person, but, having been appointed to the office, I will, to the best of my abilities, perform its duties, unmoved by every obloquy which he may endeavour to cast upon me at present, or menace me with hereafter.

"He has no reason to reproach me with pains he inflicts upon himself; those which are inseparable from his state of confinement he knows I cannot relieve him from, and the relaxations of which he might avail himself he rejects. He is perfectly aware it forms part of my instructions to admit of such as may not be incompatible with the due discharge of the trust reposed in me; but it appears as if it had been resolved to render these two points irreconcileable with each other. Hence acts of attention, which it has been attempted to show, unless bent into that precise form in which it was desired to receive them (generally that which offered the least guarantee), have been either received with disdain, drawn forth some injurious reproach, or the acknowledgment (wherever it has been expressed) made to others.

"Hence irritating and provoking language, to force me out of the line which the instructions of my Government and my own desires would have urged me the most to follow, and to drive me to some extreme whence change might arise or matter of complaint be afforded. Hence attempts to mislead opinion with so many nameless individuals (sufficiently avowed in

Count Bertrand's letters), and hence (as there is good reason to suppose) private accusations against me through channels that have afforded no means to reply. If I have in any case misunderstood matters or formed wrong judgments, the fault must lie in a great measure with those who have gone between. It is now near fifteen months that, from a desire to avoid the appearance of any species of official intrusion whatever, not merely the Governor himself, but no officer whatever having authority to speak to or address Napoleon Bonaparte in the name of the British Government or on the part of the Governor, has approached him, whilst access has been allowed to him by almost every other person who has applied for it. During this period every communication from Napoleon Bonaparte has passed through persons of his selection and his confidence, whilst the replies, in deference to him, have been trusted to the same channels; in no case those where the Governor's reliance has been placed for a perfectly clear and right understanding of anything that has occurred. Herein the will and desire of Napoleon Bonaparte have entirely governed, and not mine. I can only protest against all effects whatever that have resulted from it. The existence, however, of such a state of things proves the real position in which Napoleon Bonaparte has stood, and the exemption in particular from that system of 'outrages' of which the 'Apostille' complains. He will not, however, experience a different treatment from it, but he cannot escape the observations that will flow from the perverted statement of the general line of conduct held towards him, the means employed to defame and injure, and the terms he has descended to use.

"H. LOWE, Lieut.-General.

"St. Helena, Dec. 8, 1817."

CHAPTER XVII.

SIR HUDSON LOWE'S DISSATISFACTION WITH O'MEARA—REPORTS OF BONAPARTE'S HEALTH — O'MEARA'S PLEDGE TO NAPOLEON NOT TO REVEAL CONVERSATIONS — HIS LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR ON THE SUBJECT.

O'MEARA alludes in his 'Voice' to a conversation which he had with the Governor on the 25th of November,[1] when he excited Sir Hudson's anger by saying, that if he was to repeat what was said in conversation between him and Bonaparte, as the Governor wished him to do, he would be acting the part of a spy and a "Mouton."[1]

The Governor in reality had asked him whether "there was no subject spoken of between him and Bonaparte fit for him (the Governor) to hear?—whether there was nothing of sufficient importance for him to be informed of?" And the following account of what passed afterwards is taken from Major Gorrequer's minute of the interview :—

"The Governor said, the expressions then used by Mr. O'Meara were the greatest insult and disrespect that could be offered to him as Governor of this island, and asked Mr. O'Meara what he meant by the word 'Mouton;' he answered, 'Mouton' meant a person who insinuates himself in the confidence of others, for the purpose of extracting information or secrets from them, and then repeats what he heard.

[1] Voice, vol. ii. p. 298-300.

"The Governor said, that he could not suffer a person to sit down in the same room with him who had treated him in so insulting and disrespectful a manner as Mr. O'Meara had just done, and desired him therefore to rise and quit it; and if it was not for consideration to the feelings of General Bonaparte, he should not stay another hour in the island. 'I should not be sorry for that,' answered Mr. O'Meara; but, instead of leaving the room, he remained inside of the door, and began saying he would leave it to anybody, whether, if he acted in the way he had mentioned, he would not be considered as a spy and a *mouton*. The Governor thereupon again desired him to quit the room, and to come only when he was sent for."

On the 18th of November Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Lord Bathurst respecting O'Meara, whose conduct, he said, had given him so much dissatisfaction, that he should not have hesitated, on his own responsibility, instantly to remove him, if he had not known the handle that would be made of it by Napoleon, as well as those who espoused his cause.

"He conducted himself," the letter continued, "for a long time in such a manner as, though not to excite confidence, to steer clear of any particular remark or censure; his errors however became more prominent a short time before the departure of the late Admiral, who, by employing him in carrying newspapers to Napoleon Bonaparte, gave me the first direct cause of dissatisfaction with him, as he knew my objection to any being delivered unknown to me; from that moment his conduct underwent a change."

As Bonaparte obstinately persisted in refusing to see Mr. Baxter, all that that medical officer could do

was to hear from O'Meara his reports of his patient's health from time to time, and communicate the information thus obtained to the Governor. According to O'Meara, Bonaparte was far from well at this period, and on the 15th of December he told Mr. Baxter that his nights were so sleepless that he sometimes passed them entirely in moving from one bed into another, and that the exhaustion occasioned by this want of sleep frequently obliged him to go to bed again after breakfast, when he generally slept soundly for several hours.

Considering the mode of life led by Napoleon, this account would in no degree surprise us, but Cipriani, the maître-d'hôtel, accounted for his master's going to bed in the daytime very differently from O'Meara; for on the 14th Sir Hudson Lowe and Major Gorrequer accidentally overtook him near Longwood, when the Governor asked him, "How is his health?" (meaning Bonaparte). He answered, "Pretty good (*cosi cosi*)—he has made a good breakfast this morning." "But I have heard that he has just gone to bed," replied the Governor." Cipriani answered, "Yes! he rises early, and sets himself at work; it is necessary for him to take repose in the daytime." The Governor said, "Then he is not worse?" on which Cipriani observed, "No, Sir! so far as I can say, I do not believe he is worse."[1]

On the 22nd Captain Blakeney, the orderly officer, informed Sir Hudson Lowe that that morning O'Meara told him that Bonaparte was better than he had been, and in better spirits; and he added, that he was also informed by one of the servants that Bonaparte dined with the family on the previous evening, when "he eat heartily, laughed, and appeared to enjoy himself."

[1] Minute by Major Gorrequer.

On the 31st however (if we may believe O'Meara) a change took place; for on that day Mr. Baxter, relying entirely upon, and in fact merely repeating, O'Meara's statement, reported respecting Napoleon, —"His appetite is worse, and he has still sleepless nights. He does not look so well, his complexion being more sallow. His spirits are low, and the want of sleep produces much languor. He took some exercise in the grounds on the 29th instant."

We must now advert to a matter which O'Meara took good care to pass over in silence. In his work, under date the 18th of December, the following passage occurs:[1]—

"Summoned to attend at Plantation House by letter from Major Gorrequer. As the reader must be already disgusted with the details of the manner in which the Governor took advantage of his situation to insult and oppress an officer inferior in rank, because the latter refused to be his spy, I shall not fatigue him with any further account of the conduct practised towards me on this day, than that my replies and refusals to disclose Napoleon's conversations caused me to be treated in a more outrageous manner than on the 18th of last month. The Governor followed me out of the room, vociferating after me in a frantic manner, and carried his gestures so far as to menace me with personal violence. After this, orders again given me to attend Plantation House twice a-week."

The interview thus briefly alluded to and summarily dismissed deserves a fuller notice. It was not to be expected that O'Meara would give a *faithful*

[1] Voice, vol. ii. pp. 340, 341.

account of it. He might, indeed, with no greater dishonesty than he has exhibited throughout his book, have garbled it to suit his purpose; but it was more convenient not to attempt any detail of a conversation which covered him with disgrace. For he confessed to the Governor on that occasion, after much hesitation and with great reluctance, that, notwithstanding his frequent spontaneous communications to himself, and his series of gossiping and garrulous letters to Mr. Finlaison, from May 1816 to December 1817, a period of nearly twenty months, *he was during the whole of that period under a pledge to Napoleon not to reveal the conversations that passed between them, unless they related to his escape!*"[1]

Major Gorrequer was desired by the Governor to take a note of the expressions used by O'Meara, and he put them down in the following words:—

"Mr. O'Meara says, he pledged his word to Napoleon Bonaparte not to reveal the conversations that passed between themselves, except they had a tendency to his (Napoleon Bonaparte's) escape, last May was a twelvemonth."

He then showed O'Meara what he had written, who read it, and said it was what he had expressed, and, if required, he would give it in his own handwriting. The Governor then said, "What, Sir! and you have thus pledged yourself without consulting me about it, or even thinking proper to apprize me of it until now, and you do not blush to avow it!"

[1] In his report of a conversation with the Governor on the 17th of February, 1818 (Voice, vol. ii. p. 376), O'Meara tells us that, when Sir Hudson Lowe said to him he did "not think a person under a pledge to Napoleon Bonaparte ought to be received into company," he replied, "I was under no other pledge to Napoleon than one which was tacitly understood in every society of gentlemen."

O'Meara answered, "I beg your pardon, Sir, I told you of it." This the Governor immediately denied, and O'Meara did not persist in the assertion.

Sir Hudson Lowe afterwards asked,—"If you engaged your promise not to reveal anything that passed in conversation between Napoleon Bonaparte and yourself, except what had a tendency to his escape, how came you to repeat to me all that you have mentioned of those conversations which had no tendency whatever to escape?" He answered, "Because you had asked me, and I thought they might be interesting to Government; but, though I told you some parts, I did not tell you *all;* besides, I thought I might in some things depart from it [*i. e.* the promise] without impropriety."

The Governor said, that a person who had made such a promise was not fit to remain in such a situation; and, after in warm language pointing out the impropriety of his conduct, which he characterized as dishonourable and uncandid towards Government and himself, he told him he did not wish him to remain in the house any longer, and desired him to quit it.[1] It will, however, I think be generally felt that O'Meara was more to blame for systematically violating his promise when once made, than for making it in the first instance. The promise might be an error of judgment; the breaking it was the deliberate breach of a solemn engagement.

On the 23rd O'Meara wrote a long letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, which is nowhere noticed in his printed works. The reason of this no doubt was, that it would have been very difficult to do so without revealing to the world that he had given the

[1] Major Gorrequer's Minutes.

pledge of secrecy to Napoleon, which he so repeatedly violated. After saying that his principle was "to forget the conversations he held with his patients on leaving the room, unless as far as regarded his allegiance as a British officer to his sovereign and country," and that, if he had consented to report to the Governor *verbatim* his conversations with Bonaparte, he would have acted "a most base and dishonourable part," and in fact been a "spy" and a "mouton," and that "such conduct would cover his name with well-merited infamy, and render him unfit for the society of any man of honour," he thus proceeded to develop his conception of the duties of his office :[1]—

"He who, clothed with the specious garb of a physician, insinuates himself into the confidence of his patient, and avails himself of the frequent opportunities and facilities which his situation necessarily presents of being near his person, to wring, under the pretence of curing or alleviating his infirmities, and in that confidence which has been from time immemorial reposed by the sick in persons professing the healing art, disclosures of his patients' sentiments for the purpose of afterwards betraying them, deserves most justly to be branded with the appellation of '*Mouton.*'"

To this sentence of condemnation upon the physician who violates his trust no exception can be taken; and out of his own mouth shall O'Meara be judged. We are lost in amazement at the effrontery of a man who could so write after he had deliberately, during the whole period of his residence at St. Helena, broken, not merely the implied agreement which

[1] That no injustice may be done to O'Meara, the letter is printed at length at the end of the volume.

according to himself tacitly subsists between the physician and his patient, but his express promise to Napoleon. So far from "forgetting conversations with his patients on leaving the room," he used to hurry to his apartments, where he was seen noting down in his journal all that had occurred.[1] Moreover, he did not scruple afterwards to publish to the world the sayings of Napoleon which he had heard from him solely through means of the access which he had to his privacy in the character of physician. And from time to time he sent off his narrative of conversations with the Exile of the most confidential kind to his friend at the Admiralty, to be by that friend communicated to the ministers of the Crown. So that it was clear to demonstration that either he had given no such pledge as he asserted, or he had constantly and deliberately been in the habit of violating it.

And here it may be convenient to mention that not long afterwards Sir Hudson Lowe was officially made acquainted with the fact that O'Meara continued to forward his letters to Mr. Finlaison, for on the 23rd of January, 1818, Mr. Goulburn wrote thus to Sir Hudson Lowe:—"Lord Bathurst thinks it proper that you should be informed that this correspondence is still kept up, and that it is so with his Lordship's knowledge; for, as the letters received from Dr. O'Meara are regularly submitted to Lord Bathurst's perusal, he has thought it advisable not to do anything which, by driving Dr. O'Meara to seek another channel of correspondence, might deprive Lord Bathurst of the knowledge of its contents, and of the objects with which it is evident that his communications are made."

[1] See the statement made by Count Montholon on this subject in the next volume.

CHAPTER XVIII.

QUESTION OF THE TITLE OF EMPEROR — THE FOREIGN COMMISSIONERS — CONVERSATION WITH O'MEARA RESPECTING THE REGULATIONS — CIRCUMSTANCES CONNECTED WITH THE DEPARTURE OF GENERAL GOURGAUD — O'MEARA'S CHARGE AS TO FICTITIOUS BULLETINS RESPECTING NAPOLEON'S HEALTH CONSIDERED — DEATH OF CIPRIANI.

AT the beginning of the year 1818 Sir Hudson Lowe received some despatches from England, in one of which Lord Bathurst said that, although he could not but applaud the delicacy which had influenced the Governor in allowing the French at Longwood to give to Bonaparte the title of Emperor in their official communications with himself, while by addressing Count Bertrand, who assumed the title of Grand Marshal, instead of writing direct to "the General," he had in fact treated the latter with all the circumstances of respect which are considered due to sovereign princes, yet, considering the tone of overbearing authority adopted by Bertrand in his letters, it was necessary to instruct Sir Hudson in future, in any communications which he might find it necessary to make direct to Bonaparte, to do so in person or by letter written by himself; but in addressing any of the suite he was to leave it to one of his staff to write the letters by his command. He was also instructed to notify to the followers of Bonaparte that he would not receive any letter or any communication from them in which the title of Emperor should be given to the former, and that if any such letter or communication

were transmitted to him it would be returned forthwith.[1] At the same time Mr. Goulburn wrote and informed Sir Hudson Lowe that Lord Bathurst did not mean that he *should* correspond directly with Bonaparte, as nothing could be further from his wish than to promote or encourage such a correspondence; "which," he said, "from there being a strong feeling of generosity on one side and nothing equivalent to it on the other, must always be carried on on unequal terms."

Sir Hudson Lowe had written to the Colonial Office requesting instructions as to a wish expressed by certain of the Commissioners of the Allied Powers at St. Helena to be permitted to visit Bonaparte as private individuals, and upon this subject Lord Bathurst wrote as follows:—

"As on the first arrival of the Commissioners in the island General Buonaparte refused to admit them to an interview, on the principle that they had arrived and were acting under a treaty which the contracting parties had no right to make, inasmuch as they had no right to detain him, His Royal Highness (the

[1] Sir Hudson Lowe himself, at a subsequent period, attributed few of his difficulties to the vexed question of the imperial title. In a manuscript found amongst the papers he says,—"This question, it is said, raised difficulties on every side, and embittered all the communications between the persons at Longwood and all those who held official appointments at St. Helena. This is quite a mistake. All misunderstanding arising out of the title of Emperor was very soon and very easily removed; it subsequently caused no embarrassment. . . . . I used in Italian the terms 'Vo'ssignoria' and 'Lei,' and in French the word 'Monsieur,' which may be addressed to a royal personage. In conversation with him I never called him 'General,' which would have been offensively familiar and vulgar, whether he accepted the title or not as a proper designation of his rank." This, however, was written many years after he had quitted St. Helena, when the trouble which this subject caused had perhaps faded from his memory. It is impossible not to see that it *was* the occasion of embarrassment and difficulty.

Prince Regent) considers that, if any of the Commissioners were now to be presented to him otherwise than in their official character, it would be an admission of the principle which General Buonaparte is on many accounts so desirous of establishing; and the communications which have taken place between the Russian Commissioner and General Gourgaud, as they afford an additional ground for misconstruction, make an acquiescence in any wish of this nature additionally objectionable.

"His Royal Highness therefore has commanded me to instruct you not to allow any of the Commissioners to be presented to General Buonaparte except as a Commissioner of one of the Allied Powers introduced by you in your official character as Governor of St. Helena."

On the 7th of January the Governor had a conversation with O'Meara, in the course of which he asked him if he thought Napoleon Bonaparte expected that any change would take place in the regulations respecting him. O'Meara answered that he could not tell—that the last time he said anything to him on the subject was about ten days before, when he stated that he would not go out until everything was again put upon the same footing as under Sir George Cockburn. The Governor observed that everything was on the same footing, except with regard to written communications in the island; but that, should Napoleon even be worse than he was, no change would take place in respect of that regulation, unless it was ordered by Government—that he ought therefore to undeceive himself about that matter, and should not be encouraged in any such expectation.

O'Meara asked the Governor whether he wished

him to repeat this to Napoleon Bonaparte. The Governor said he did not ask him to do it, as General Bonaparte had already been informed of it sufficiently in writing, but if he entertained other hopes it was better he should know it; and if O'Meara had not endeavoured to remove any such expectation he should consider it a great neglect of duty. O'Meara answered that he had never encouraged him in any such idea, but had recommended him a hundred times to go out and take exercise.

We now come to an incident which led to some important consequences. On the 6th of February O'Meara informed the Governor that General Gourgaud had told him the preceding day that he meant to apply for permission to leave the island. On being asked as to his motive, O'Meara said that he believed it was in consequence of misunderstandings with Count Montholon, which had put him out of favour with Napoleon; that, besides, he had been for some time past in a bad state of health, had lost his appetite, was becoming emaciated, and was apprehensive of another attack of dysentery. O'Meara added that the tears were in his eyes when he told him, and he was in extremely low spirits. He had been for a long time extremely unhappy, and was in a state of despondency. O'Meara said that he himself thought that if in his present state the General had a severe attack of dysentery or other disorder it probably would carry him off. The Governor observed that General Gourgaud and Count Montholon had been long on bad terms, but it would seem that this was more in consequence of a misunderstanding with Napoleon Bonaparte, who had taken the part of Montholon against him. O'Meara replied that he

believed this might be the case, and remarked that General Gourgaud lived miserably, and was almost always by himself; he seldom saw Bonaparte, and only dined with him now and then on a Sunday, when invited, but not by any means so often as the Montholons or Bertrands.[1]

On the 7th General Gourgaud himself called upon Sir Hudson Lowe at Plantation House, and asked him to remove him as soon as possible from Longwood. He said, "I can no longer live there without dishonour. I have been treated like a dog. I would rather die in a prison in France than live here, acting the part of a chamberlain, with the total loss of my independence. He (Napoleon) has wished me to do things contrary to my honour, or force me by bad treatment to leave him. I have told the Marshal that I would say nothing against the Emperor, because that would do harm to myself; but let them not attack me."

The Governor remarked that the departure of the General from Longwood might subject him to misconstruction: either he might be regarded as a person charged with a secret commission from Bonaparte, or he would be reproached for having abandoned him. As to the first point, Gourgaud said he was well aware that he was liable to suspicion on that ground, and he therefore desired to be treated with every rigour. He added that he should therefore be perfectly satisfied when he returned to England to be sent as prisoner to France. With respect to the latter imputation, he said, "As to that I am quite indifferent. Let them attack me—I will answer. I would rather be in prison than live in the manner we go on here—*que de vivre de la manière dont nous vivons.*"

[1] Major Gorrequer's Minutes. Not a word of this conversation is noticed in O'Meara's 'Voice.'

It is well worthy of notice, although by no means surprising, that O'Meara has in his 'Voice' preserved a total silence respecting the departure of General Gourgaud from Longwood; indeed he never once mentions his name after the date of the 28th of September, 1817. But Count Montholon's account is worse than O'Meara's silence. Notwithstanding the notorious enmity between Gourgaud and himself, and the real facts of the case, of which the reader is now in possession, he has the hardihood to say in his recent publication,[1] "The bad treatment which poor O'Meara daily received from the restless and uneasy disposition of Sir Hudson Lowe was not our only source of regret. The departure of General Gourgaud had become necessary in consequence of the failure of health, and the Emperor had availed himself of this opportunity to have the real truth concerning his sufferings made known in Europe." The "regret" felt by Count Montholon for General Gourgaud's departure was about equal to the spirit of veracity in which his work has been composed. An angry correspondence had taken place between these two officers before the latter applied for permission to leave Longwood, and he had distinctly challenged Montholon to fight with him.[2] Indeed so apprehensive was Sir Hudson Lowe of their quarrel resulting in a duel that he gave a particular caution to the orderly officer to be on the watch to prevent it.

On the 8th of February Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Gourgaud and told him that he should be happy to facilitate the object of his request, as to his being

[1] Récits, vol. iii. p. 3.

[2] The letters that passed between them are given at the end of the next volume.

permitted to return to Europe, as early as the nature of his instructions allowed; and that in the mean time he would direct an apartment to be allotted for his residence, until an opportunity occurred for his departure from the island.

On the 16th Mr. Baxter called on General Gourgaud at the house of Mr. Beale, where he was then residing, and made the following memorandum of the conversation that took place between them:—

"I called on General Gourgaud to-day to inquire after his health, and found him perfectly well.[1] Amongst other things, in a long conversation we had relative to the ill-treatment he had received from Bonaparte, and the influence this had in deciding him to quit Longwood, he mentioned that Bertrand had earnestly endeavoured to persuade him to state, in his letter to Bonaparte announcing his intention of leaving him, that ill health alone obliged him to leave him. This he peremptorily refused, and, as a proof to me thereof, showed and desired me to read the letter he had addressed to Bonaparte intimating his wish to leave him, and in which there is not a syllable mentioned of his ill health."

The letter will be found at the end of the volume; and what Mr. Baxter here says respecting the absence of any allusion in it to ill health, as the cause of Gourgaud's departure, is quite true; but it is right to mention that, in a formal note written by him a few days before, he distinctly intimated this as a reason for quitting St. Helena. He said that for the last two years his health had been unsatisfactory; he had been frequently attacked by dysentery and liver complaint,

[1] Contrast this with the statement of O'Meara to the Governor, *ante*, p. 246.

and now to his physical sufferings were added those of a moral nature. He continued, "I have experienced great annoyances (*j'ai éprouvé de grands chagrins*); their influence has been fatal to me; it has destroyed the little health I had left, so that I am forced to beg of you to facilitate my return to Europe, where the climate of my country and the cares of my family will assuage all my sufferings." And Napoleon, in his answer to the letter which Gourgaud had addressed to him, took care to attribute the desire of the latter to go away to ill health alone. He said, "I regret that the liver complaint, which is so fatal in this climate, has compelled your departure (*je regrette que le mal du foie, qui est si funeste dans ce climat, ait nécessité votre départ*);" but he did not make the slightest allusion to the moral sufferings and *chagrins* of which his follower complained.[1]

In conformity with the regulations all General Gourgaud's papers were examined by Major Gorrequer, and while this took place the General conversed freely, and some of his remarks, of which Major Gorrequer made a minute for the Governor, will be found extremely interesting.[2] The Major says that among General Gourgaud's papers he found the rough draft of his account of the events that occurred during the year 1815. The General told him that, as the battle of Waterloo was a subject on which the feelings of Napoleon Bonaparte were extremely sore, and one upon which the ex-Emperor himself could not write, he had directed Gourgaud to prepare the account of it, and, when it was ready, Bonaparte desired him to

[1] The letters are given at length at the end of the next volume.

[2] Lieutenant (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Jackson was present at the commencement of the examination of the papers, but did not remain the whole time.

keep it, as the publication of it in his own name would be the means of obtaining him a reputation in the world. In consequence of this General Gourgaud had determined to send it to England for publication; but he was afterwards called upon to act in some manner (which he did not explain to Major Gorrequer) that would have compromised him, and he cut up the fair copy of the work into several portions, and put them up into glass bottles, intending to bury them in the garden at Longwood. He at the time apprised General Montholon of this, and, as he afterwards refused to perform what was required of him, Montholon told Bonaparte of the circumstance of the bottles, who sent for him, and desired him to deliver up the portions of the account of the battle of Waterloo to him. General Gourgaud expostulated, saying that Napoleon himself had wished him to keep it and publish it in his own name, it being in fact his own composition; but Bonaparte insisted upon having it, and he was compelled to give it up. General Gourgaud at the same time told Major Gorrequer that he had in his possession the identical map of Belgium used by Bonaparte at the battle of Waterloo, with several marks of the positions of the troops pencilled upon it by Napoleon himself on the eve of the battle. He said that since the departure of Las Cases all the Italian campaigns had been revised and enlarged by Bonaparte, and the papers on Egypt particularly, which last he said "*il caresse beaucoup*" as his favourite work. From a number of loose sheets and rough drafts of notes, it appeared that Napoleon had written some tracts respecting the political relations between England and America, the expedition to Copenhagen, and other subjects. There were also numerous notes on the subject of the Russian inva-

sion; but nothing was in Bonaparte's handwriting that related to the events at Moscow or the subsequent history of that campaign; for General Gourgaud said he left that part to him to prepare, as he could not himself enter upon a subject so unpleasant to him.

The greater part of the notes and drafts were scarcely legible, particularly those written under the dictation of Bonaparte, owing to its rapidity. Those in Napoleon's own handwriting were almost wholly illegible to a person unacquainted with it. General Gourgaud said, they all thought at Longwood that the Governor had opened the packet addressed to Lord Liverpool, which, however, Major Gorrequer pointedly denied; and the General then assured him that, before ever the letter was sent to Sir Hudson Lowe to be forwarded to England, more than one copy of it had already been transmitted there for publication. They expected at Longwood to see it printed in the last newspapers which had arrived, and wished General Gourgaud to take a copy of it to England, which he had refused to do. He added that great effect was expected from it, and used the expression, "*c'est une pièce de* 48 *pour Longwood* (it is a forty-eight pounder for Longwood)." He said it was certainly very well written—the best thing of the kind Napoleon had composed since he came there. He afterwards lifted up in his hands several bundles of papers off the table, and said, "I might, if I wished, have sent every week a packet to England as large as these," and declared that there was no difficulty whatever at Longwood in sending letters through other channels than that of the Governor, adding that he himself had never sent but *one*, which was to his mother; but he might have sent *thirty* if

he had liked. He then showed Major Gorrequer a handkerchief and a letter, and said, laughing, "*Voici la lettre et le mouchoir qui ont fait tant de bruit.*" The letter was a joint one from his mother and sister, and the handkerchief was of cambric worked in white silk by the latter. In the course of the conversation General Gourgaud observed, "I have been treated like a dog. They [*i. e.* the French at Longwood] wished me to compromise myself in order that I might be obliged to remain all my life here."

Amongst other letters was a copy of one from Captain Aylmer, R.N., to Captain Maitland, at the time he commanded the Bellerophon off Rochefort, wherein was described a small Dutch vessel then lying in the port alongside of some frigates, which had been hired by an American, and fitted up with casks provided with air-holes, which were intended to conceal Bonaparte and his suite. Major Gorrequer appeared to discredit this statement, on which General Gourgaud assured him that such was the fact, and that he himself went on board the vessel the day before and saw the casks, but it was then too late to try the experiment, as too much time had been lost; and he said that they were astonished to find that such good information on the subject could have been obtained by the English cruizers. Amongst the papers was also a list of the intended "officers of the palace," made out at Rochefort by order of Napoleon Bonaparte, settling their different posts if they should succeed in getting to America. Las Cases was to have been "*Premier Ministre du Conseil.*" General Gourgaud asked Major Gorrequer what size Las Cases' Journal was, and said that *it was more a composition than a real journal*, and written with the intention of being published. He also informed him that a great

deal had been written respecting the bust of Napoleon's son, for the purpose of being inserted in the letter to Lord Liverpool; but that after Captain Lamb's visit to Longwood, who (Gourgaud said) did not appear to be in favour of "*l'Empereur*," it fell to the ground,—"*l'échafaudage tomba par terre.*"

The only other point of interest that need be mentioned is that General Gourgaud told Major Gorrequer that Captain Poppleton, who was formerly the orderly officer at Longwood, received a gold snuff-box as a present from Napoleon Bonaparte on his departure, and that he saw it himself.

The next day General Gourgaud told the Governor that he himself was perfectly satisfied the letter to Lord Liverpool had been sent to England without being opened, but that it never would be believed at Longwood. He said he knew very well what the answer would be if it was so stated there, and he could even anticipate the very words which would be used (begging his pardon), viz. "*voilà un nouveau mensonge du Gouverneur;*" but had even an angel been sent to St. Helena as Governor it would have been all the same; complaints would still have been made continually; it was a consequence inseparable from the situation, and to give satisfaction was out of the question. Had the "Emperor" been allowed the whole extent of the island he would have been equally dissatisfied; it was not merely Longwood and the restrictions, but St. Helena altogether. "*Enfin, il a été Empereur; il ne l'est plus, et voilà ce que c'est.*"

General Gourgaud added, "He wishes to be always Emperor: if there were only two persons in the house with him he would not be less Emperor. He wishes to be so always at home (*chez lui*). He seems to have been born (if I may so speak) with those impe-

rial or regal ideas, which he can never abandon." The General also said that the best mode of paying court to Bonaparte was to speak ill of the Governor; but the abuse in which Napoleon indulged against the latter was not meant personally, but was "par politique:" he hoped always to obtain something "à force de plaintes." Gourgaud declared that the reason why Napoleon would not return any answer about building a house was because as long as he remained in his present abode it flattered the idea of his being at St. Helena only temporarily; whereas the construction of a new house would seem to imply that his residence there was to be permanent.[1]

One day, at the house of Baron Stürmer, Gourgaud said that Napoleon had once strongly advised him to put an end to his life, giving as a reason the insupportable existence he led there, and that Bertrand had used arguments to the same effect. He declared also that he himself (by way, it seems, of reciprocating the kindness) had proposed to Napoleon that they should both destroy themselves by shutting themselves up in

[1] It has been asserted that Napoleon Bonaparte settled a pension of 12,000 francs on Gourgaud's mother, but this the General denied. He told Sir Hudson Lowe that no *pension* was granted to his mother, but that Napoleon had given an order for one payment of 12,000 francs to her. He said, that some time before the month of July, 1817, Bonaparte offered to send Madame Gourgaud an order for money, which proposal her son, the General, after some hesitation, accepted, and Napoleon dictated an order to Prince Eugene, to be enclosed in a letter to his mother. He took the paper (which had been dictated in pencil) to his room to copy; but, on leaving the copy with Napoleon Bonaparte, and returning afterwards to receive it back again, he found an addition made, ordering some money to be lodged in London on Napoleon Bonaparte's own account. Observing this, General Gourgaud declined to have anything further to do with the matter; and he declared that for two months afterwards he was exposed to every kind of indignity and ill-treatment on the part of Bonaparte himself, and was finally informed that, unless he consented to send the letter, the Emperor would not suffer him to remain any longer with him. He at last yielded, and the letter was sent to Europe.

a room with charcoal. He said that Bonaparte could make Bertrand believe that night was clear day. He also asserted that Warden's book was written under Bonaparte's inspection, and that he had seen some of the letters at Longwood. He accounted for anachronisms in the book by saying they were introduced on purpose to make the work appear as the compilation of Warden. It is very difficult to believe this, and it is only fair to state that Count Balmain, the Russian Commissioner, had a poor opinion of Gourgaud's veracity. He regarded him as a vain boaster, and it must be admitted that this seems to have been a prominent weakness in his character.

In a conversation between Count Balmain and Major Gorrequer at dinner at Plantation House, on the 26th of March, the former told the latter that Gourgaud was always fond of talking to him about his duels, and boasting of himself; and the Count mentioned that he had told him that he had quarrelled with Montholon on one occasion at St. Helena because the latter had been in the habit of sitting at dinner nearer to Bonaparte than himself; upon which he told Montholon that if he again took precedence of him at table he must fight him. Count Balmain added that General Gourgaud had behaved very ridiculously since he quitted Longwood; he talked at random, nor could much reliance be placed on what he said.

It will be not uninteresting to quote here a few extracts from a letter written by Lieut.-Colonel Jackson to Mr. Henry, the author of the work to which reference has already more than once been made.[1] It will serve to complete our narrative respecting this period. Colonel Jackson says,—"So much nonsense has been

[1] This letter is printed in Henry's 'Events of a Military Life,' vol. ii. pp. 47–50 (2nd edit.).

written about General Gourgaud that I feel induced to tell you shortly what were the circumstances attending his quitting Napoleon. At Longwood, as well as on the throne, the Machiavelian policy, 'Divide et impera,' was the ex-Emperor's rule; the result of which was injurious to him in the extreme: for, imbued with jealousy, distrust, and enmity amongst themselves, his little band of followers soon found their position anything but agreeable. I fancy the Count de Las Cases was very glad to get out of the mess, and General Gourgaud at length found his isolated situation so irksome as to be no longer bearable. An active and intelligent Officier d'Ordonnance, he had been rapidly promoted about the time of Napoleon's struggles in Germany prior to the battle of Leipsig (he is mentioned very favourably in Caulaincourt's Memoirs), and I believe followed his master into exile from attachment to his person. I do not know precisely the origin of his disagreement with Bonaparte at Longwood, but have some reason to think they were not cordial for any length of time after reaching St. Helena. At the period when Gourgaud applied for permission to leave the island, Counts Bertrand and Montholon, with himself, formed the whole suite. The two first were but just upon speaking terms, while Montholon and Gourgaud were at open enmity, as was often avowed by the latter. Bertrand and Montholon had their separate establishments, and were living comfortably with their families, while Gourgaud remained in solitude. I used frequently to call and chat with him, when he would often lament his hard fate, and sigh for *la belle France*, for Paris, and les Boulevards. At length *maladie de pays* got the better of him, and he determined to leave Longwood. Sir Hudson Lowe sent

for me, and, having mentioned Gourgaud's wish, asked whether it would be agreeable for me to reside with him until an opportunity should offer for his quitting St. Helena. 'I propose this to you,' added the Governor, 'from thinking such an arrangement would be acceptable to General Gourgaud, and in consequence of his conduct having been quite unexceptionable, as far as our regulations have affected him; I therefore shall be glad to please him in this matter.' Accordingly General Gourgaud and myself were installed in a comfortable house, in which servants and a table were provided for us at the expense of Government. We lived near the residences of the Austrian and Russian Commissioners, whom we occasionally visited, and nothing could exceed the attention and hospitality of Sir Hudson Lowe to General Gourgaud. If the latter be still alive, I feel certain he must retain a pleasing recollection of the treatment he then met with.

"In justice to that excellent and grossly maligned individual, Sir Hudson Lowe, I shall now relate a circumstance which I am sure General Gourgaud will be ready to confirm. When the latter removed from Longwood, I accompanied him to the Governor's residence, where I took an opportunity to leave him and Sir Hudson *tête-à-tête*. Immediately on our riding from Plantation House together the General broke out into strong exclamations of surprise that Sir Hudson should simply have received his visit as the call of one gentleman upon another, without even alluding to Longwood during their conversation. 'I expected,' added he, 'that the Governor would have seized with avidity so favourable an occasion as my excited state offered to gather from me some information about the goings on at Longwood. *Je ne reviens pas de mon étonnement, non, je n'en reviens pas.*' These expressions

of surprise he repeated over and over again during our short ride. I may add that I had many opportunities of remarking the really chivalrous delicacy of Sir Hudson in reference to General Gourgaud."[1]

To this must be added the fact, which Colonel Jackson also mentions, that General Gourgaud, having at first declined to receive a considerable sum (12,000 francs) from Napoleon on quitting Longwood, and having afterwards, when about to embark, applied to Count Bertrand for a loan of two or three hundred pounds, was met by a refusal, on the ground that he had declined the Emperor's offer, which was a most disrespectful act. Bertrand, however, said that he was willing to lend the money if Gourgaud would accept the Emperor's gift. He still refused to place himself under a pecuniary obligation to Napoleon, and as he was quite penniless Sir Hudson Lowe sent him an order on his own banker in London for one hundred pounds.

We have only to add the particulars of a remarkable conversation which the Governor had with General Gourgaud on the 14th of March, the day on which he embarked for England. It is contained in two letters from the former to Lord Bathurst, dated respectively the 14th and 15th of March, 1818. Sir Hudson says that Gourgaud told him *they received at Longwood a large sum of money in gold at the time the*

[1] This statement is fully confirmed by the Lowe papers. In a letter from Sir Hudson Lowe to Lord Bathurst, February 21, 1818, he said, speaking of a conversation with General Gourgaud, "He spoke with great rapidity, and a strong feeling of irritation against those whom he was about to quit; but, as he might consider I took an undue advantage of the situation he was then in to excite him to disclosures which, in cooler moments, he would have been more cautious in making, I did not encourage him to proceed in this strain, and he expressed himself afterwards to the officer I had appointed to attend him very sensible of the delicacy which I had observed in my conversation with him."

plate was broken up. He spoke of this as a most unworthy trick, saying that they had abundance of money, and did not want resources of any kind. The Governor, wishing to ascertain how they had obtained it, remarked that they got a large sum from Count Las Cases about the time the plate was broken up, and perhaps this might have served them. "Oh! no," was General Gourgaud's reply; "before that they had 240,000 francs in gold, a large part of it in Spanish doubloons.[1] Oh! they have no want of money."

Sir Hudson Lowe said in one of his letters, "He acquainted me that Prince Eugene is the person who has lodged money in the hands of Messrs. Andrew Street and Parker, for the use of Napoleon Bonaparte; and he told Baron Stürmer Count Las Cases had received an order for 200,000 livres, so that the 4000*l.* will have been more than repaid. . . . . He (Gourgaud) is greatly enraged at some traits of Count Bertrand's conduct, and repeated to me a remark made to him by Napoleon Bonaparte, on the justice of an observation made to the latter by Talleyrand, '*que c'était l'homme le plus faux et le plus dissimulé de la France.*' In short, the *brouillerie* is complete, and will, I should conceive, lead to some results on public opinion in Europe.

"General Gourgaud spoke to me with indignation of the shifts used in breaking up the plate, at a time when they had abundance of money in their possession—of designs to form a '*noyau*' (nucleus) in

[1] It is, perhaps, right to mention that Lieut.-Colonel Jackson, whose authority has been frequently quoted in the course of this work, has expressed to the author his entire disbelief of this statement. He was on intimate terms with Count Montholon after they both left St. Helena, and, if the fact had been as Gourgaud represented he thinks he must have heard of it from Montholon, who never mentioned anything of the kind.

France or in England, in which it was proposed he should take a part, but he spoke with such rapidity, and at times in so ambiguous a manner (rather as wishing to avoid any matter of direct reference), that I could not well gather his meaning in every point, but believe all I have said will be more clearly obtained from him, if he does not fall too soon into wrong hands, on his arrival in England."

During the month of February Mr. Baxter made several reports to the Governor on the state of Bonaparte's health, in which, however, he was, as before, obliged to rely solely on the information supplied by O'Meara, as he had no opportunity himself of seeing Napoleon. These are the "surreptitious and fictitious bulletins" spoken of by O'Meara in his book.[1] Nothing could be more proper than that the Governor should endeavour to obtain a second opinion as to the health and medical treatment of Napoleon from a skilful professional person who was competent to form a judgment upon O'Meara's medical details. In reality, however, the so-called "fictitious bulletins" were merely repetitions of the information given by O'Meara to Mr. Baxter, and the writer rarely expressed any opinion of his own. But it will be satisfactory to hear Mr. Baxter's own account of the matter. He says,—

"In October, 1817, I was directed by Sir Hudson Lowe to examine Mr. O'Meara twice a-week relative to the state of health of Napoleon Bonaparte, and to report the result to him. This was done accordingly, and the information thus received committed to writing immediately after. The expressions of Mr.

[1] Voice, vol. ii. p. 398. They are also denounced by Count Montholon in his 'Récits.'

O'Meara were scrupulously attended to in making the report to the Governor, and for the truth of the statements made by me to the Governor from these examinations I pledge myself as a man of honour. In the preamble to the report it is explicitly stated to be the substance of an examination of Mr. O'Meara, touching the state of health of Napoleon Bonaparte, and does in no way imply that I was in attendance upon him."

On the 20th Mr. Baxter wrote and said that he had remarked to O'Meara that it was something uncommon that a complaint of the nature which he (O'Meara) supposed Bonaparte's to be (namely, *hepatitis*, or disease of the liver) should continue stationary for so long a period, particularly as he had never taken anything to arrest its progress, or with a view of removing the disease. To this O'Meara answered, that it appeared equally so to him.

At this time, according to O'Meara's account, Napoleon suffered severely from palpitations, and was in consequence obliged frequently to get out of bed at night, and remain in an erect posture, by which he obtained relief. He also had more pain in the right side than formerly; his countenance was more sallow, and his eyes more sunk. His appetite was represented to be by no means good, and his spirits rather low.

An event now occurred at Longwood which excited regret in the island generally. Cipriani, the *maître-d'hôtel* of the establishment, was seized on the 23rd of February with internal inflammation, and, although he was attended by Messrs. Baxter and Henry, as well as by O'Meara, he died on the 28th, after much suffering. He was buried in the country churchyard by a Protestant clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Boys, and was

followed to the grave by Counts Bertrand and Montholon, Sir Thomas Reade, Mr. O'Meara, several officers of the 66th Regiment, and many of the inhabitants.[1] "Had he been buried *within* the limits," says O'Meara, "Napoleon himself would have attended."

We may charitably hope that this might have been so; but truth obliges us to state that Bonaparte did not once see his humble follower throughout his fatal sickness. We quote Mr. Henry's account of the matter:[2]—"In the course of my attendance at Longwood I was not a little surprised to learn accidentally that Napoleon had never visited his faithful servant during his last illness. No doubt this mark of respect would have been highly gratifying to the patient, yet it is a fact that no visit ever took place, although the sick man's chamber was under the Emperor's roof, and not twenty feet distant from his bath. I have reason to believe, however, from the assertion of Mr, O'Meara, that during the last evening of Cipriani's malady, and when he was in a state of delirious insensibility, his master proposed to see him, but was dissuaded by Mr. O'Meara, on the ground that the patient was not then in a state to recognise the Emperor. According to O'Meara, Napoleon then talked a little extravagantly of the effect his presence might produce, even in these desperate circumstances. It might reanimate the expiring efforts of nature, as it had retrieved the fatal disorder of his army at Arcola and Marengo. Notwithstanding this flourish, the man died unvisited by his master; and I confess, when I have read the affecting circumstances of the death of Duroc and other Generals, whose dying hours

[1] Voice, vol. ii. p. 389. O'Meara omits, however, to state that Sir Thomas Reade showed this mark of respect to Cipriani's remains.

[2] Events of a Military Life, vol. ii. p. 37.

the Emperor's presence and sympathy soothed and comforted, no slight degree of incredulity has arisen in my mind in contrasting his deportment then and now. The key may be—it behoved him to assume grief, if he did not feel it, at the bedside of the dying Marshal. In the case of the devoted servant no object of consequence was to be attained." [1]

It is however gratifying to be able to mention that Napoleon expressed himself much pleased with the attention shown to Cipriani's remains; and to mark his sense of it, he caused a request to be made to the clergyman who performed the burial service, that he would receive 25*l.* for distribution among the poor. And, when he was informed that there were no persons in the island who properly came under that denomination, he acquiesced in the money being paid to a benevolent society,—an institution by which persons in distress at St. Helena were relieved,—and his donation was given to it.

[1] Mr. Henry says,—"Although Buonaparte's devoted servant, he (Cipriani) was one of the most violent republican Jacobins I ever met."—Events of a Military Life, vol. ii. p. 36. As to his contempt for religion, see vol. i. p. 354, and note in vol. iii. p. 3.

LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS,

IN THE NATURE OF

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS,

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No. 50.

Le Comte Bertrand a l'honneur de faire ses compliments à Monsieur le Gouverneur, et de lui adresser une note des papiers qui ont dû se trouver chez Monsieur le Comte de Las Cases, et qu'il est prié de renvoyer à Longwood.

Longwood, ce 30 Novembre, 1816.

NOTE des PAPIERS qui ont dû se trouver chez Monsieur le Comte de Las Cases, et que Monsieur le Gouverneur est prié de remettre.

1. Il manque à la 'Campagne d'Italie,' composée de vingt chapitres, le premier, le treizième, et le neuvième; ainsi que beaucoup de notes qui étaient sur feuille volante.

2. Il doit aussi exister la première minute de ces matériaux sur la 'Campagne d'Italie;' ainsi Monsieur le Gouverneur doit avoir tout ce qui est relatif à cet ouvrage.

3. Dans le paquet des pièces officielles il manque beaucoup de minutes, de réponses, et d'observations, de plaintes qui devaient être joints aux lettres de Monsieur le Gouverneur.

4. Un journal très volumineux que le Comte de Las Cases avait rédigé par ordre, et où était relaté, jour par jour, tout ce qui nous était arrivé depuis le départ de Paris. Le Comte Las Cases y avait placé beaucoup d'extraits de conversation de l'Empereur; cet ouvrage n'était pas destiné à être communiqué. Il est nécessaire comme le seul mémorandum de ce qui s'est passé. Il doit en exister deux expéditions, l'une le premier brouillon, l'autre la copie revisée aux trois quarts au net. Le Comte Las Cases devait, lorsque tout aurait été revisé au net, le soumettre à l'Empereur pour qu'il pût y examiner ci-dans; il était nécessaire de souvenir et annoter le reste.

5. Il peut y avoir d'autres écritures indifférentes en elles-mêmes, et qui sont étrangères à la lettre du Comte Las Cases à Lady Clavering, qui a été remise par son domestique le 24 du courant, et qui a donné lieu à tous ces événements.

LE COMTE BERTRAND.

Longwood, ce 30 Novembre, 1816.

No. 51.

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Balcombe Cottage, Déc. 4, 1816.

Comme une conséquence de ma lettre du 30 Novembre dernier, et autant que peut l'admettre ma circonstance présente, et aussi autant et pour tant que les lois m'autorisent à le faire pour m'assurer leur pleine et entière protection, je vous demande authentiquement et formellement de vouloir bien m'éloigner de Ste. Hélène et me rendre à la liberté, me référant du reste, en toutes choses, à l'entier contenu de ma lettre susmentionnée du 30 Novembre dernier.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec une haute considération, &c.

LE COMTE DE LAS CASES.

No. 52.

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Décembre 6, 1816.

Dans mes lettres du 30 Novembre et du 4 Décembre dernier, qui traitaient toutes deux de ma situation politique, j'aurais cru peu digne et peu convenable de mêler un seul mot de ma situation domestique, mais aujourd'hui que, par suite de ces deux mêmes lettres, je me regarde comme rentré dans la masse de vos administrés, à titre de passager accidentel dans votre île, je n'hésite pas à vous entretenir de toute l'horreur de ma situation privée. Vous connaissez l'état affreux de la santé de mon fils, [les symptômes alarmants dont il est environné et qui me déchirent,] les personnes de l'art doivent vous en avoir instruit : depuis qu'il a vu se briser le lien cher et sacré qui nous

attachait à Longwood, toutes ses idées, ses vœux, ses espérances se sont tournés vers l'Europe, et son mal va s'accroître de toute l'impatience et de tout le pouvoir de l'imagination. Voilà sa situation physique; elle rend ma situation morale pire encore, si c'est possible. J'ai à combattre tout à la fois et la tendresse du cœur et les inquiétudes de l'esprit; je ne me vois pas, sans effroi, responsable à moi-même, de l'avoir amené ici et d'être la cause qu'on l'y retiendrait. Que répondrais-je à une mère qui me le redemandrait? que répondrais-je à la foule des oisifs et des indifférents même toujours empressés de juger et de condamner? Je ne parle point de ma propre santé; elle m'importe peu dans de telles émotions et de telles anxiétés: toutefois je me trouve dans un état de débilité absolue vraiment déplorable. Depuis que je n'ai plus sous les yeux la cause qui tenait en exercice les forces de mon âme, mon corps plie sous les ravages effrayants d'un an et demi de combats, d'épreuves, de secousses tels que l'imagination a de la peine à les suivre; je ne suis plus auprès de l'objet auguste auquel je consacrais avec charme les peines de ma vie; je n'en demeure pas moins éloigné de ma famille, dont le sacrifice m'avait tout déchiré: mon cœur se brise entre deux; privé de chacun, il s'égare dans un abîme; il ne saurait y résister long-tems. Je vous laisse, Monsieur le Gouverneur, à peser ces considérations: ne faites point deux victimes; je vous prie de nous envoyer en Angleterre à la source de la science et des secours de toute espèce. Ce sera la première, la seule demande d'aucune espèce qui sera sortie de moi vers vous ou votre prédécesseur; mais le malheureux état de mon fils l'emporte sur mon stoicisme—n'atteindra-t-il pas votre humanité? Un bon nombre de motifs peuvent aider encore votre décision: ma lettre du 30 Novembre les renferme tous. J'ajouterai seulement ici l'occasion précieuse pour vous d'exposer à tous les yeux une grande et rare impartialité en envoyant ainsi vous-même à vos ministres précisément un de vos adversaires.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec une haute considération,

Le Comte de Las Cases.

P.S. Monsieur le Gouverneur, en me plaçant ici, vous me fites l'honneur de me dire que ce serait pour peu de jours: oserais-je vous demander, si c'est toujours votre intention de me transporter ailleurs? l'espérance alors soutiendrait un courage

dont j'ai besoin. Je suis en face de Longwood ; la distance est petite ; je le rencontre à chaque instant du jour. Cette perpétuelle attraction, perpétuellement combattue, ce petit voisinage, et cette grande distance, ce regard toujours tendu sans jamais rien voir, cet objet sans cesse offert et sans cesse retiré, il y a là quelque chose de l'enfer des anciens, supplice des plus poignants : et ne croyez pas que ceci soit de la déclamation ou de l'esprit ; j'éprouve, je vous l'assure, bien plus que je ne l'exprime ; il peut être bien des fanatismes.

No. 53.

To Count Las Cases.

Mon cher Comte Las Cases, Longwood, Déc. 11, 1816.

Mon cœur sent vivement ce que vous éprouvez ; arraché il y a quinze jours d'auprès de moi, vous êtes enfermé depuis cette époque au secret, sans que j'aie pu recevoir ni vous donner aucunes nouvelles, sans que vous ayez communiqué avec qui que ce soit, Français ou Anglais, privé même d'un domestique de votre choix. Votre conduite à Ste. Hélène a été comme votre vie, honorable et sans reproche—j'aime à vous le dire. Votre lettre à un de vos amis de Londres n'a rien de répréhensible ; vous y épanchez votre cœur dans le sein de l'amitié ; cette lettre est pareille à huit ou dix autres que vous avez écrites à la même personne, et que vous avez envoyées décachetées. Le Commandant de ce pays, ayant eu l'indélicatesse d'épier les expressions que vous confiez à l'amitié, vous en a fait des reproches dernièrement, vous a menacé de vous renvoyer de l'île, si vos lettres contenaient davantage des plaintes contre lui ; il a, par là, voilé le premier devoir de sa place, le premier article de ses instructions, et le premier sentiment de l'honneur. Il vous a ainsi autorisé à chercher les moyens de faire arriver vos épanchements dans le sein de vos amis, et de leur faire connaître la conduite coupable de ce Commandant. Mais vous avez été bien simple. Votre confiance a été bien facile à surprendre. On attendait un prétexte de se saisir de vos papiers, mais votre lettre à votre amie de Londres n'a pu autoriser une descente de police chez vous, puisqu'elle ne contient aucune trame ni aucun mystère—

qu'elle n'est que l'expression d'un cœur noble et franc ; la conduite illégale, précipitée, qu'on a tenue à cette occasion, porte le cachet d'une haine personnelle bien basse. Dans les pays les moins civilisés, les exilés, les prisonniers, même les criminels sont sous la protection des lois et des magistrats ; ceux qui sont préposés à leur garde ont des chefs dans l'ordre administratif et judiciaire qui les surveillent. Sur ce rocher l'homme qui fait des réglements les plus absurdes les exécute avec violence ; il transgresse toutes les lois ; personne ne contient les écarts de ses passions. Le Prince Régent ne pourra jamais être instruit de la conduite que l'on tient en son nom : on s'est refusé à lui faire passer mes lettres ; on a renvoyé avec emportement les plaintes qu'adressait le Comte de Montholon, et depuis on a fait connaître au Comte Bertrand qu'on ne recevrait aucunes lettres si elles étaient libelles comme elles l'avaient été jusqu'à cette heure. On environne Longwood d'un mystère qu'on voudrait rendre impénétrable pour cacher une conduite criminelle, et qui laisse soupçonner de plus criminelles intentions. Par des bruits répandus avec astuce, on voudrait donner le change aux officiers, aux voyageurs, aux habitans, et même aux agents que l'on dit que l'Autriche et la Russie entretiennent en ce pays. Sans doute que l'on trompe de même le Gouvernement Anglais par des récits adroits et mensongers. On a saisi vos papiers, parmi lesquels on savait qu'il y en avait qui m'appartenaient, sans aucune formalité, à côté de ma chambre, avec un éclat et une joie féroce ; j'en fus prévenu peu de momens après, je mis la tête à la fenêtre, et je vis qu'on vous enlevait ; un nombreux Etat-Major caracolait autour de la maison ; il me parut voir des habitans de la Mer du Sud danser autour des prisonniers qu'ils allaient dévorer. Votre société m'était nécessaire ; seul vous lisez, vous parlez, et entendez l'Anglais : combien vous avez passé de nuits pendant mes maladies ! Cependant je vous engage, et au besoin je vous ordonne, de requérir le Commandant de ce pays de vous renvoyer sur le continent. Il ne peut point s'y refuser puisqu'il n'a action sur vous que par l'acte volontaire que vous avez signé : ce sera pour moi une grande consolation que de vous savoir en chemin pour de plus fortunés pays. Arrivé en Europe, soit que vous alliez en Angleterre ou que vous retourniez dans la patrie, oubliez le souvenir des maux qu'on vous a fait souffrir ; vantez vous de la fidélité que vous

m'avez montrée, et de toute l'affection que je vous porte. Si vous voyez un jour ma femme et mon fils, embrassez-les. Depuis deux ans je n'en ai aucune nouvelle, ni directe ni indirecte. Il y a dans ce pays depuis six mois un botaniste Allemand qui les a vus dans le Jardin de Schoenbrunn quelques mois avant son départ: les barbares ont empêché soigneusement qu'il ne vînt me donner de leurs nouvelles. Toutefois, consolez-vous et consolez mes amis: mon corps se trouve, il est vrai, au pouvoir de la haine de mes ennemis; ils n'oublient rien de ce qui peut assouvir leur vengeance, ils me tuent à coups d'épingle, mais la Providence est trop juste pour qu'elle permette que cela se prolonge longtemps; encore l'insalubrité de ce climat dévorant, le manque de tout ce qui entretient la vie, mettront, je le sens, un terme prompt à cette existence, dont les derniers moments seront un acte d'opprobre pour le caractère Anglais, et l'Europe signalera un jour avec horreur cet homme astucieux et méchant; les vrais Anglais le désavoueront pour Breton. Comme tout porte à penser qu'on ne vous permettra pas de venir me voir avant votre départ, recevez mes embrassements et l'assurance de mon estime et de mon amitié. Soyez heureux.

Votre dévoué,

(Signé) NAPOLÉON.

No. 54.

To LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Dear Sir, Longwood, December 16, 1816.

I have the honour to communicate to you, according to your desire, the substance of some conversations which took place between General Bonaparte and myself on the 12th and subsequent days, as nearly as I can recollect the words, without, however, following exactly the order of the days, which would cause too much repetition; neither have I in any considerable degree moderated his words or expressions, as you desired to be made acquainted as exactly as possible with them. I informed him that he had been entirely mistaken in his supposition that the original of the 'Campaigns of Italy' and some other papers had been detained for the purpose of copying them; that, on the contrary, they had been invariably respected and not looked

at by any person; that whenever Count Las Cases pointed out any paper or papers as belonging to him (General Bonaparte), such were immediately put to one side and not looked it; that the whole of the examination was carried on in Las Cases' presence, and that, when finished, the papers were sealed by Las Cases himself and put into a trunk, which trunk also was sealed by him and not opened again unless in his (Las Cases') presence; that, moreover, there was a letter enclosed in the last parcel of papers delivered to Count Bertrand, written by young De Las Cases, testifying that they had been respected; that you had on a former period, when delivering a parcel to Count Bertrand, called his attention to observe that it was sealed by Las Cases, and that you had begged him to assure General Bonaparte, in the most official manner possible, that you had not read a word of what they contained; and that you had repeated this assurance on delivering the last parcel also. After a good deal of persuasion I succeeded in making him believe that the papers had not been copied or looked at. He acknowledged that Bertrand had given him such an assurance on your part, but said that he had not given credit to it, partly in consequence of the delay, and because the papers had not been returned all together. He also said that young Las Cases' letter only contained an assurance from you that they had been respected. I took an opportunity of telling him that you, instead of being personally his enemy or being instigated by malice towards him, as he supposed, had actually written to England for the purpose of causing an amelioration in his situation in some degree by lessening some of the restrictions, &c. He replied, "I do not believe it; a Government 2000 leagues off can only give general instructions. They could not be sufficiently acquainted with the locality of the place to give such minute details. No, no; he suggests such and such restrictions to them, and tells them that they are necessary, and that he cannot be answerable for my person unless they are complied with, and in answer they tell him to do what he thinks proper, 'e un cattivo uomo.'" I replied that the orders were very strict, much more so than they had been in the Admiral's time, and that you could not deviate from them. He said, "I have no doubt that the orders are very bad, perhaps worse than himself; I believe that Lord Bathurst has given him wicked, infa-

mous, and dishonourable orders. I have no doubt whatsoever that, if he has not given him written orders to assassinate me, he has given verbal ones (a voce). Everything seems to confirm it—all this mystery and secresy. When it is wished to despatch a man secretly (quando si vuol trucidar un uomo secretamente), the first operations are always commenced by cutting off all communications between him and the world—by enveloping him with mystery and secresy, in order that at their leisure they may make away with him, after having accustomed people to neither see or hear anything about him; and I have no doubt that he will effect it. He will send away all the French people from about me by degrees. You see he has already commenced by taking away Las Cases and some of the servants, to-morrow or next day Montholon will go, by and by all the rest; and then, when a fit opportunity occurs, when I am surrounded by spies of his and fit instruments for him to work upon, he will despatch me, according to his instructions from Lord Bathurst. Perhaps he is not so bad as Lord Bathurst or his instructions, but he will do it to pay his court to him. Lord Bathurst is a wicked man; I heard so before I arrived here, and that I had nothing good to expect from him." I endeavoured in vain to convince him of the groundlessness of his suspicions, and that he had completely mistaken Lord Bathurst's, yours, and indeed the English character altogether. He replied, "I am sure there is some bad object in view. If not, why all this mystery and secresy—this sending away of the servants? If not, they would treat me well—treat me in such a manner as not to be afraid that everything might be known and even published. No, no; the intention is to put me underground, because then there will be no more fear about any new troubles in France through me. It is the only sure way. 'Il n'y a que les morts qui ne reviennent pas.' He has evidently some bad intention at bottom by his indirect and crooked manner of proceeding, his secrets and mystery: 'un uomo sinistro.' There is nothing English in all this proceeding, nothing characteristic of the English nation in this darkness. It is all Sicilian." I spoke to him at length about the state of affairs; that it was my opinion you wished to accommodate matters as much as lay in your power, and as the peculiar nature of the circumstances would admit. He replied, "If he

asks you anything about my thoughts, tell him that I intend writing a protest to the Prince Regent against this barbarous conduct towards me; that I consider his detaining Las Cases in custody when there is nothing against him except sending a letter of complaints illegal. Let him either try him, send him back here, or send him off the island. He only came here on my account, and now he is deprived of that. As to the accommodation you speak of, if he is desirous really of it, let him begin by releasing Las Cases or else sending him off the island altogether. Tell him all is in his own power. I have no favours to grant or places to give away. I can do him neither good nor evil. Let him take away his sentinels until nine o'clock; take away his restrictions about speaking to people; in fact, let him in a few words put things upon the same footing they were in the Admiral's time, or something equivalent to it, as I told you a few days back: this will be tolerable, and was approved of by his Government." I shortly afterwards spoke to him about Sir Thomas Strange, and said that his motive for wishing to see him was in order to pay him a mark of respect, which he thought due to such a character, and not from curiosity. He appeared pleased at this, and said (at first), "If that is the case, let him go to Bertrand and tell him that his intention is not to come and see me as if I was an elephant or some other wild beast, but merely a visit of respect, and 'allora si ricevra.'" Shortly afterwards, however, he said, "If the Governor asks you anything about it, tell him that 'le genti seppelite non ricevono le visite;' 'les gens dans un tombeau ne reçoivent pas de visites,'" repeated he in French, "for he has literally put me in a tomb. Besides, he has ordered that, when any strangers are allowed to visit me, none of the Generals or others of my suite are to be present, so that I could not even send for Madame Bertrand to interpret for me if he did not speak French. Besides, also, I have lost Las Cases, and no one else can interpret, as one cannot always send for a lady." I explained to him that the reason of restricting strangers from making use of the same pass to enable them to converse with any of his suite arose from Las Cases having on some occasions taken strangers into his room and there showed and read unto them letters containing false statements and accusations respecting you; that, however, you had said that might be easily

settled, as you had reserved to yourself a right to grant such permission on the pass, and that you said that you had no objection to strangers seeing any or the whole of his family, and that you would give a pass bearing that tenor to Sir Thomas Strange. I also mentioned that the Ministers were not instigated by any personal vengeance, hatred, or malice towards him; that the principal reason (I believe) he had been sent to St. Helena was from apprehensions that turbulent and intriguing people in different parts of Europe would endeavour to foment and excite discord, rebellion, and new wars there if he was allowed to remain in it, by availing themselves of his name and reputation to aggrandize themselves, and otherwise answer their several purposes. I also expressed my firm belief that you were willing to (or as far as lay in your power) accommodate matters and ameliorate his condition. When I mentioned the apprehension respecting turbulent people, he said, "Then the only way to insure people not being able to make use of my name for the future is to despatch me (trucidarmi), and the sooner the better. This is the only effectual remedy." With respect to what Las Cases had done, he said that Las Cases, though he was a man of talent, was notwithstanding a *coglione* in some things—for example, in showing the letters as he had done, and trusting a slave. But he said it was a piece of coglioneria to give written orders that no stranger should speak to any of his suite, though he had a pass entitling him to speak to him, and then to give a verbal message purporting the contrary. Besides, he said, he would not consent to allow you to permit people to speak to his suite or not according to your pleasure. He then spoke about accommodating matters nearly in the same strain as before, and continued, "But I do not believe that he really desires it. I believe it is all 'per gettare la polvere negli occhi,' or else he has received some letters from England. I think, however, it is 'per gettare la polvere negli occhi, per coglionare questo giudice;' that he, being a man of some consequence, might, when he got to England, say that it is all my fault that I do not see whoever I like; that I am treated with all the kindness possible." It was with a similar intention, 'per gettare la polvere,' that he persuaded Lady Lowe to come up here the other day and call upon Madame Bertrand—'per coglionare la gente,' and make them

believe that we were on the best terms. Not that I believe," continued he, "that he made his wife acquainted with his designs, but the time was chosen badly while Las Cases was in prison,—for every one gives her a good character. He has all the 'scaltrezza Siciliana.'" After musing for a while he said, "What a *coglione* I was to trust myself to the English generosity, to experience such barbarous and illiberal treatment, instead of doing so to the Emperor of Russia or to my father-in-law! With either of them I would have been treated with the greatest liberality and generosity. I was," continued he, "twice master of Vienna with my armies, and not an inhabitant in it lost the value of that" (snapping his fingers), "or received the least injury or insult. They were most grateful to me for it. The Emperor of Austria, who is a religious man, though he is an 'imbecile,' would have taken a pride in treating me like his son." He then added that it was pride which prevented him from giving himself up to people whom he had conquered so often. This last part, however, he said rather indistinctly. He then said that he would think of some propositions to make, which, said he, "You can make in your own name, but you must not tell him that they came from me, as he will oblige you to swear to them again I suppose. I will think about them. A man before doing anything of consequence ought to digest his dinner and sleep a night upon it, and then, if he is of the same opinion the following day, it is the real determination of his mind; if not, it is only a caprice or whim." The next day I asked him about the above-named propositions. He replied that he had thought of it since, and believed that it would be better not; "as," said he, "if he has received any orders from England to lessen the restrictions and ameliorate things, he will do it without any proposition of mine, for he is a man who will do anything to pay his court to the Minister; and if he desired him to use me well he would be all kindness and goodness, for he is not a *coglione;* and if not, he will do nothing; and therefore it would only be subjecting myself to a refusal from a man who delights in doing evil." I saw, however, that several propositions had been made out and were lying on the table, and, from a glance I had at them, saw several of a similar nature to what he had verbally mentioned to me before. On the 14th, the day after this last conversa-

tion, at about twelve o'clock in the day, he sent for me. Before I went in, St. Denis (one of his valets-de-chambre) told me that he (General Bonaparte) had been very unwell all the night; that he had been up the greatest part of it, extremely agitated, and repeatedly calling for eau de Cologne or vinaigre de quatre voleurs to smell to; that he had been very unquiet, and walked about the room, "battant des mains et paraissant un peu égaré;" that he had never seen him so before in all his life. When I went in, he was in bed, the room very close, every possible hole through which the air could enter carefully closed, and thick curtains drawn. He said that he had had a severe nervous attack during the night, which had kept him continually agitated and restless; that he had had severe headache and involuntary agitations; that he had been once a few moments without sense, and that he verily thought and hoped he would have died before morning—that a second attack of it would have occurred, which would have carried him off. "I thought," continued he, "that I was about to get an apoplectic fit, as I felt giddiness and heaviness in my head, and a sensation as if it was overloaded with blood, and a desire to be in an upright posture. I felt a heat in my head, and called to those 'imbéciles' of servants to pour some cold water over it, which they could not comprehend, and would not do it for some time. The water felt quite warm also, though it was really very cold." I took an opportunity (after recommending him something) to dwell upon, in the most forcible manner I was master of, the absolute necessity of his taking exercise (as he had not been out of the house, even in the garden, for above four weeks, and very seldom even out of his room), and endeavoured strongly to convince him of the certainty of his being shortly seized with some alarming complaint. He replied, "So much the better; it will sooner be over, and I will be no more tormented. 'Tanto meglio; più presto si finirà, e non mi si tormenterà più.'" When I spoke about taking exercise on horseback he allowed that nothing could be so beneficial to him, but added, that if he did so he would live too long—"Ma si viverebbe troppo lúngo;" which he did not wish should be the case; that all he looked for was a release from this world. He spoke afterwards about funeral rites, and said that he wished when he died that his body should be burnt, according

to the Roman customs; that he thought it was the best way, because the body did not produce any inconvenience afterwards; and, as to the resurrection, he said, that must be accomplished by a miracle, and that it would be just as easy for the Being who had it in his power to perform such a miracle as bringing the bodies together to unite and form anew the ashes. He added that at Wagram he had caused the bodies of the slain to be burned. He dwelt particularly upon his desire that his corpse should be disposed of in this manner after his demise. He said that he had directed Bertrand to show to Sir Thomas Strange when he came that part of his restrictions which prohibited persons visiting him making use of the pass which permitted them to communicate with him to hold converse with his suite, or any of them, unless so specified upon the pass. This, however, was not done, as Count Bertrand did not appear, and no steps respecting it were taken by Madame Bertrand. Since the night of the 14th he has not experienced a similar nervous attack. He was, however, all last night without sleep, and did not arise until two P.M., at which time I saw him, and found him tolerably well. I have the honour, &c.

BARRY E. O'MEARA.

No. 55.

A SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Balcombe Cottage, au secret,
en vue de Longwood, 19 Déc., 1816.

Monsieur le Gouverneur,

Dans les différentes rencontres qu'ont amenées entre nous les circonstances de ma détention personnelle, il est échangé, en passant, quelques reflexions sur Longwood, qui me sont revenues souvent à l'esprit. Vous avez répété souvent *que nous y étions dans l'erreur, et que nous nous efforcerions d'y demeurer.* J'ai eu beau vous répondre que c'était précisément l'observation que nous faisions nous-mêmes chaque jour vis-à-vis de vous, vous y êtes revenu toujours avec l'air de la plus intime persuasion. Une autre fois vous m'avez dit, "que nous eussions dû vous adresser *nos griefs;* que vous les eussiez envoyés à vos ministres, et livrés volontiers vous-même à la publication, ce qui vous eût été personnel." Je vous ai observé que mes lettres, qui

vous passaient par les mains, remplissaient assez bien cette intention; que celle au Prince Lucien même, qui, dans cet instant, faisait l'objet de ma réclusion, vous avait été destinée de la sorte, et que vous me les aviez néanmoins interdites. *Mais c'était à cause des reflexions*, m'avez vous dit. Nos peines étant principalement morales, ne doivent-elles pas entraîner, de nécessité, principalement *des reflexions?*

Ces objets, et plusieurs autres de même nature, pour être bien compris, eussent demandé plus de développement; ils eussent exigé entre nous une conversation régulière et tranquille; or, vous n'y donniez pas lieu, et je ne le cherchais pas. Toutefois il m'en est resté, ainsi par d'autres circonstances accessoires, que vous ne vous doutiez pas de votre position avec Longwood, ou que vous ne compreniez pas et ne soupçonnicz même pas une partie de vos torts envers nous; ce qui, sans les détruire à mes yeux, en ferait disparaître du moins la portion la plus odieuse, la mauvaise intention.

J'ai imaginé dès-lors de consacrer l'oisiveté de ma réclusion à vous les faire connaître. Ma situation et le moment sont des plus favorables. J'écrirai dans le calme, et sans passion. Je n'aurai pas le fiel que j'aurais eu sans doute à Longwood, avant de vous voir ici. De plus, ceci ne sera que mon opinion personnelle; mes rapports seront purement particuliers; ils seront dictés par l'amour de la vérité, et, le dirai-je (voyez si je puis être juste), par une espèce d'intérêt, à présent, pour vous-même; car la contrainte peu agréable que vous exercez sur moi en ce moment ne m'empêche pas de discerner les égards dont vous l'avez entourée. Surtout lisez avec calme, Monsieur; songez que ceci sont *nos griefs*, ce que j'appelle *vos torts*, vrais ou apparens, et que je les écris ici en toute franchise, comme dans mon journal, et comme si vous ne deviez pas les lire.

S'il m'arrive de me tromper dans quelques détails, je vous prie d'observer que vous m'avez privé de tous mes papiers; que je suis loin des pièces officielles; que je n'écris que de mémoire; et que je suis prêt à rétracter toute erreur matérielle que vous me feriez apercevoir.

Je vais prendre des choses dès leur origine.

En un clin d'œil un grand Souverain, au faite de la puissance, trahi par la fortune et les hommes, avait perdu un trône, sa liberté, et se trouvait jeté sur un roc affreux au milieu de

l'océan ; et tous ces événemens s'étaient accumulés avec tant de rapidité, que tout s'était accompli, mais que rien n'avait était déterminé. Nous attendions donc à Sainte Hélène avec anxiété la fixation de nos destinées ; mais nous l'attendions du moins avec la consolation de l'excès du malheur ; bien sûrs, nous semblait il, qu'il fût impossible que notre situation s'empirât.

"L'Europe," disions nous, "a les yeux sur notre rocher ; les peuples vont juger de la conduite des rois. Sans doute que les égards, les soins vont être prodigués, du moins en expiation de ce qu'ils appellent la nécessité de la politique. La législature, l'opinion publique en Angleterre, l'ont fait entendre ainsi, et les ministres Anglais, dépositaires et responsables de la gloire de leur nation, ne sauraient ici substituer des haines personnelles, s'ils en avaient, à la moralité, au sentiment public.

(1) "Un homme arrive pour commander ici" (on vous désignait, Monsieur) "qui tient un rang distingué dans l'armée. Son mérite personnel a fait," dit-on, "sa fortune : il a passé," nous dit-on, "sa vie en mission diplomatique aux quartiers généraux des rois du Continent. Dès-lors, il a dû se familiariser

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Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

(1) Count Las Cases supposes in me the same sentiments and opinions as himself, makes of me a creature of his own imagination, and then becomes angry I do not realize all its features. I came to St. Helena neither to insult General Bonaparte nor to flatter him ; to perform a certain duty in respect to him, blending it with the regards due to a person fallen from a very high station into adversity, but not to be drawn aside from the performance of any part of that duty by giving into pretensions arising from the past, or into the consideration that [his] misfortunes were wholly unmerited or not of his own creating. This mode of acting was that which least suited General Bonaparte and his adherents. It gave no handle for accusing me of acting on the ground of illiberal prejudice, and left nothing to hope from an opposite feeling. Hence the trivial accusations that follow, shadowing out an offence from every act the most indifferent or inevitable, and building the most calumniating reflections upon it. To look upon him and them without a marked interest of some kind was an offence not to be forgiven.

auprès d'eux avec le nom, le rang, la puissance, les titres de l'Empereur Napoléon sur le Continent.

"Il connaîtra tous ses rapports publics et secrets avec ces souverains, qui lui donnèrent long-temps le titre de frère, et ont été ses amis, ses alliés, ou demeurent ses proches.

"Il saura qu'à Châtillon il n'a tenu qu'à l'Empereur Napoléon de regner en France du consentement de l'Angleterre, sa propre nation; que plus tard il n'eut encore tenu qu'à lui de se réserver d'autres contrées. Cet homme," disions nous, "du sein du nuage diplomatique aura pris des idées justes des personnes et des choses; il se rit sans doute lui-même, à présent que le fruit en est recueilli, de cet amas de calomnies et de libelles que la crainte et la politique avait créé pour le vulgaire. Après de telles circonstances il n'accepterait pas une mission qui ne serait pas en harmonie avec tout cela, et dont le résultat doit être d'améliorer notre condition présente. Sa venue seule est donc d'un augure suffisamment favorable pour ses instructions. 'Ne m'avez-vous pas dit qu'il était à Champaubert, à Montmirail?' nous disait un jour l'Empereur. 'Nous aurions donc échangé des boulets ensemble; c'est toujours à mes yeux une belle relation.'" Telles étaient les dispositions dans lesquelles était attendu Sir Hudson Lowe.

Vous arrivez, Monsieur, et votre première visite à Longwood est à une heure indue du matin, à une heure où l'Empereur n'avait jamais reçu, sans qu'un de vos aides-de-camp soit venu lui demander l'instant qui pouvait lui être agréable; formalité que vous n'eussiez certainement pas négligé vis-à-vis de vos Ministres, ou même vis-à-vis d'un de vos simples supérieurs en Angleterre ou sur le Continent; et pourtant à qui vous adressiez vous? Vous ne fûtes pas reçu: ce premier pas n'était pas heureux, vous en conviendrez; mais telles étaient nos préventions en votre faveur, que nous nous plûmes à imaginer que, fraichement débarqué dans l'île, on abusait malignement de cette circonstance pour vous faire débuter par une injure.(2)

Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

(2) My first duty on landing, after seeing Sir George Cockburn, was, I conceived, to present myself to General Bonaparte. I inquired what was the hour when he generally received persons, and was told at or before *nine* in the morning, or after

Peu de jours après, fesant le tour de l'établissement, vous vantiez à un ou deux de nous la beauté de ce lieu, qui ne peut être pour nous qu'un séjour de désolation. On vous observa qu'il n'y avait point d'ombre, et que c'était une grande privation pour l'Empereur. "On plantera des arbres," répondîtes vous; mot affreux, qui nous pénétra jusqu'au fond du cœur, mais dont je crois bien à présent que vous ne soupçonnâtes pas alors toute la barbarie. Vous apportâtes avec vous l'obligation pour nous de faire des déclarations, comme quoi notre séjour à St. Hélène était volontaire, et que nous nous soumettions de plein gré à toutes les restrictions qu'on pouvait nous imposer. Il fut alors sourdement circulé autour de nous, je ne sais par qui ni dans quel motif, que nous allions signer là notre exil pour la vie. Cependant vous dûtes voir avec quelle alacrité tous, depuis le 1er officier jusqu'au dernier domestique, s'empressèrent d'y satisfaire. Vous revîntes quelques jours après avec la signature des domestiques. Vous aviez besoin, disiez-vous, de les rassembler de leur parler, et vous en demandiez l'agrément de l'Empereur. Je vous répondis que vous aviez la force, qu'il était en votre pouvoir de le faire, mais qu'il vous était inutile de faire une prévenance qui ne serait qu'un outrage. Nous étions dans l'habitude de regarder l'entourage de l'Empereur

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Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

four in the forenoon. I desired Captain Poppleton of the 53rd regiment, then attending at Longwood, to acquaint some officer of General Bonaparte's suite, in order to its being made known to him, that I would call at Longwood at nine the next morning, being the earliest moment possible after my arrival. He would not receive me. Sir George Cockburn and Captain Poppleton both asserted, however, the hour was one at which he was most generally visible. I found afterwards a formal previous visit was expected to Count Bertrand, in order to be presented by him in form as "*Grand Maréchal du Palais.*" Of this I knew nothing at the time, and if I had known it should have been careful not to admit the *title* on which Count Bertrand's introduction was to take place. Count Las Cases, it is to be observed, vindicates me, in a certain degree, from any design of giving offence, but it is at the expense of Sir George Cockburn.

comme un sanctuaire sacré. Si vos Ministres avaient accordé 12 domestiques, qu'on ne leur demandait pas, c'était là sans doute la maison privée qu'ils avaient prétendu lui faire. Etait-il séant de venir s'y mêler, mettre (pour ainsi dire) le doigt entre l'Empereur et son valet-de-chambre? La grande mission du Gouverneur de Ste. Hélène, pouvait-elle avoir d'autre règle que de veiller l'enceinte extérieure de Longwood et de respecter scrupuleusement l'asyle, les mœurs de dedans? Devait-il pénétrer dans un intérieur de famille? Cependant vous vîtes ces domestiques pour vérifier leur détermination, sans songer à tout ce que cette mesure solemnelle avait d'éminemment injurieux pour nous. Si vos lois demandaient cette garantie, vous aviez tant de moyens indirects de vous procurer la certitude que vous cherchiez. Nous ne vîmes donc là que le projet arrêté de nous charger d'humiliation et d'outrages. Nous nous dîmes qu'on ne nous avait envoyé d'Angleterre qu'un geolier. Nos cœurs se resserrèrent, nos espérances s'évanouirent, et la brèche fut décidée.(3) De votre côté vous ne nous montrâtes plus qu'une figure hostile et sinistre. Nous n'échangeâmes que des paroles peu agréables.

Vous répétiez, nous disait-on, et vous nous dîtes à nous-mêmes, *que nous nous abusions étrangement sur notre situation.*(4)

Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

(3) The upper domestics and servants were assembled in pursuance of a *previous* communication made to Count Bertrand that their declarations would be received in this manner. Count Bertrand thought proper to adopt a *different* plan, and to send me their declarations without my *seeing the persons;* but this was no reason for my yielding to it. It was necessary I should personally see and know the different French persons General Bonaparte had brought out with him. No questions were asked of them, but their names simply called over according to the declaration. The rest of this passage, "*sanctuaire sacré,*" "asyle," "mœurs," &c., is too lofty for comment, further than to observe that Count Las Cases was the *medium* of communication when he says the "*brèche fut décidée.*"

(4) Certainly; greatly indeed did they misunderstand their situation—under the word *nous* identifying themselves with General Bonaparte, and arrogating the most insufferable preten-

"Que prétend-il par là?" nous disions-nous; "comment pouvons-nous nous abuser? Nous étions aux Tuileries, nous donnions des ordres; nous sommes sur un roc, et nous portons des chaînes. Voir, parler ainsi, est-ce s'abuser? serait-ce notre indépendance, l'aisance de nos manières, dont il s'étonnerait? nous voudrait-il obséquieux? nous trouverait-il de la fierté? et pourquoi ne nous serait-elle pas naturelle? qui aurait-il de plus simple qu'elle s'accrût encore par l'adversité? Ne serait-ce pas bien plutôt lui qui s'abuserait et méconnaîtrait sa situation? Ignorait-il que c'est au pouvoir que sied la condescendance, qu'elle le relève et l'honore? Ne serait-il pas qu'ici la gloire n'est pas de nous soumettre, mais plutôt de nous satisfaire? qu'il va se priver d'une belle page dans l'histoire? que, s'il était permis de montrer de l'humeur et de la colère, ce ne devrait

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Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

sions upon it. Of all the persons near General Bonaparte I was the most disposed, on my first arrival, to show attention towards Count Las Cases, considering him purely as a literary character. The following trait may explain how much. I accosted him in a very respectful manner and feeling, soon after my arrival, with saying I had long known the *Atlas*, said to be published by him, and was much struck with the freedom and openness with which he had expressed his sentiments at a time when the Press was supposed to labour under particular restraints in France. He started back from this compliment, and said he did not recollect the particular passages I might allude to. I repeated the following one. In opening an historical view of the 19th century the author says,—"Plus nous approchons de nos jours, moins il devient nécessaire d'en parler, car le tableau se trouve devant les yeux de tout le monde, et d'ailleurs *il est dangereux à prononcer devant celui qui a le droit de contredire.*" He said he recollected no such passage, and that I must have a wrong edition of his work. I had the original one as composed by him when an *emigrant* in *England*, but not published until *he returned to France.* He then said it had a different meaning to what I supposed; but this he did not explain. Whether this furnished any motive or not I know not, but I had little opportunity of communication with General Bonaparte or him afterwards.

être qu'à des victimes justement ulcérées? se croirait-il au milieu d'objets, de circonstances ordinaires? L'Empereur Napoléon n'est déchu que de son trône. Un revers le lui a ravi, la fortune l'y eut fixé; il n'a perdu que des biens, tous ses caractères augustes lui demeurent; il n'est pas moins l'élu d'un grand peuple, consacré par la religion, sanctionné par la victoire, reconnu par tous les souverains. Il en a créé. Ses actions demeurent des merveilles, ses monuments couvrent la terre, son nom remplit le monde. Ses institutions, ses idées recueillies, imitées, brillent parmi ses ennemis; il n'a perdu que son trône. Toutes ces choses lui demeurent et commandent les respects des hommes. Non, le Gouverneur se trompe. Nous ne nous abusons pas."

Les choses en étaient là quand il vous arriva une personnage de distinction. Vous l'accueillîtes à Plantation House, et, pour lui être agréable et satisfaire sa curiosité sans doute, vous écrivîtes à Longwood pour inviter le Général Bonaparte à venir rencontrer votre hôte à dîner. Mais y pensâtes-vous bien? Crûtes-vous bien l'acceptation possible? et dans quel embarras ne vous eut-elle pas mis! Eussiez-vous adressé à votre convive le titre de Général, qui par les circonstances lui est devenu une insulte? Où l'eussiez-vous placé? Comment l'eussiez-vous traité—en Général de division, en Général en chef? Monsieur, chaque combinaison, chaque parole, chaque pas, est un outrage; et à qui les adressiez-vous? à l'âme la plus fière, peut-être, qui soit dans l'univers. Je dois vous le dire, en lui traduisant ce billet je pâlis de surprise et d'indignation. (5)

Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

(5) On the Countess of Loudon's arrival with her family at St. Helena she took up her residence at Plantation House. I was at that time on tolerable grounds with General Bonaparte, and, as the Countess of Loudon was desirous to see him, addressed a note to Count Bertrand, acquainting him of her Ladyship's arrival, and that I should, with Lady Lowe, feel much honoured if General Bonaparte would meet the Countess of Loudon at dinner. This, as it is perceived, was taken as the highest possible insult to him. I regret having made the invitation, but it is on other grounds to what Count Las Cases supposes. It is to be observed, Count Las Cases was here again

Lui, calme, impassible, me le fit rendre au Grand Maréchal, qui demanda quelle réponse? Aucune, se contenta-t-il de répondre froidement. Mais, grand Dieu! que devait-il se passer dans ce cœur! que n'éprouvâmes-nous pas nous-mêmes! que n'eussiez vous pas éprouvé? En lisant ceci, vous regretterez cette circonstance, et ne la répéteriez pas sans doute aujourd'hui.

Presqu'aussitôt commencèrent les griefs individuels. Un étranger était venu nous voir à Longwood, car alors nous n'étions point encore sous la machine pneumatique où l'on doit infalliblement expirer bientôt dans cette horrible demeure. Cet homme, qui allait en Angleterre, et devait, disait-il, repasser ici sous cinq ou six mois, insista beaucoup pour me rendre quelque service à Londres. On manque ici de toute ressource quelconque, vous le savez. Je lui donnai une montre, ne pouvant la faire raccommoder ici, et lui fis remettre par mon valet-de-chambre un vieux soulier pour modèle. (6) Si je descends ici, Monsieur, à d'aussi bas détails, les circonstances me l'imposent

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Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

the medium of communication, "*pâlissant de surprise et d'indignation*," when he *translated* my note to Count Bertrand, which was rather to dine in company with the Countess of Loudon than with me.

(6) This person received a *letter* also from Count Las Cases; it was the *first* attempt made after my arrival at indirect communication, and *was checked;* the person who had received the letter and articles having been simply desired to acquaint Count Las Cases of what he already full well knew,—that he would take charge of no communications without my approval. Count Las Cases, in the whole of this relation, shows his irritated self-love, and his disposition to suppose me acting from personal motives towards him. My only real offence was an indifference resulting from his own demeanour. The pretension manifested by Count Las Cases that I was to go with all humility myself and make known this rule, of which he was already fully informed, after the indignant airs he confesses in so many previous passages to have given himself, is too absurd to merit comment. It appears more likely Count Las Cases treasured up this anecdote for a time when he might repeat it with most effect. See his remark at the conclusion of the paragraph.

et me justifient. Quelques jours après cet homme me renvoya ces objets en s'excusant par la lettre la plus polie. Le Gouverneur lui avait défendu de s'en charger, disait-il, à moins qu'ils ne passassent par ses mains et que je lui adressasse directement ma demande. Il réitera plusieurs fois son avis et ses offres, parcequ'il n'eut jamais de réponse de moi, et je m'avais gardé. Je me fusse désormais passé de montre toute ma vie, et j'aurais marché plutôt pieds nuds. J'avais senti l'injure, et je la dévorais en silence. Qu'y a-t-il de mieux à faire quand on ne peut se faire la réparer? d'ailleurs, pouvais-je bien envoyer mon vieux soulier à un Général, à un Gouverneur? Ce n'eut été qu'exécuter à la rigueur, il est vrai, la lettre de ses règlemens, mais ne devais-je pas me respecter moi-même? J'en conclus donc que c'était une intention d'injure directe et personnelle. Ne l'eussiez-vous pas cru vous-même? je vous le demande. Autrement, me disais-je, Sir Hudson Lowe m'eut fait l'honneur d'entrer chez moi quand il vient ici. Il m'eut dit qu'il avait su par hasard que j'avais irrégulièrement remis à quelqu'un des objets pour l'Europe. Qu'il s'était empressé pour m'être agréable de légitimer leur passage. Qu'il m'indiquait pour l'avenir la voie régulière, et que je lui ferais plaisir de la suivre. Quelques eussent été mes dispositions antérieures, j'eus été sensible à un tel procédé—j'en eusse été touché. Il m'eut du moins fort embarrassé, et je ne crois pas que Sir Hudson Lowe eut eu jamais à se plaindre de moi sur cet objet. Mais il devait en être autrement. Du reste, comme je suis ennemi des tracasseries et des querelles, que ceci m'était personnel, j'en fis longtems mystère. Une circonstance accidentelle le fit connaître, et ne contribua pas peu à accroître nos peines et nos chagrins à Longwood.

Un de nous avait pris un domestique depuis quelques jours. Vous le rencontrâtes à la porte de la maison. Vous le fîtes arrêter vous-même près d'un seuil que jusque là nous avions dû croire sacré. Heureusement l'Empereur se promenait au loin, car c'eut pu s'exécuter sous ses yeux. "Il a flétri le court espace où je me promène," dit-il, en parlant de vous lorsqu'il sut la chose. "Il ignore, peut-être, nos mœurs. Il ne sait pas que tout l'or des Amériques, des monceaux des diamants ne saurait compenser de telles injures." Vous avez assuré plus tard que vous ignoriez que cet homme fut à l'un de nous. Mais cette igno-

rance, votre précipitation, l'acte lui-même qui n'en demeure pas moins, n'attestent-ils pas assez le manque d'égards qui dut nous blesser si vivement? (7)

La Comtesse Bertrand écrit un billet à la ville. Vous vous en emparez, et le lui renvoyez, en l'accusant d'infraction, et nous rappellant à cet objet qu'à l'avenir, et comme cela s'était toujours pratiqué, disiez-vous, nous devions nous abstenir de communiquer par écrit avec qui que ce fût dans l'île autrement que par votre intermédiaire, et en vous envoyant nos billets ouverts.(8) Nous eûmes beau nous récrier qu'il n'en avait jamais été ainsi, invoquer le témoignage de vos propres agents, qui en demeuraient d'accord; ajouter qu'il était bien en votre pouvoir de l'établir de la sorte, mais qu'il ne fallait pas dire, du moins, que vous ne changiez rien aux règlements de votre prédécesseur. Vous n'en persistâtes pas moins, et nous n'eûmes d'autre consolation que de rire du ridicule par lequel nous pouvions aller voir des gens, et causer avec eux, auxquels il ne nous était pas permis d'écrire. Toutefois nous ne pouvions voir, et nous ne vîmes en effet, dans cette inconséquence que l'évident désir de nous tourmenter et de nous faire sentir indélicatement le poids de l'autorité.

SIR HUDSON LOWE'S NOTES.

(7) This man, who was a native of Persia, and had been a servant of Colonel Skelton, had obtained admission to Longwood *by a pass* from Count Bertrand. I saw him there, and directed my orderly dragoon to send him away. I had no knowledge whatever at the time of his having been engaged as a servant; and, at all events, the officers at Longwood knew perfectly well they had no authority whatever to engage any servants without my permission. General Bonaparte once, speaking himself to me of this and other matters, said, "C'est une affaire finie;" but Count Las Cases would then want arguments to justify his own malicious repetitions and comments.

(8) This was a note sent to the French Commissioner to call at Count Bertrand's, whilst General Bonaparte at the same time refused to see him. Had the French Commissioner gone, *it was so arranged that Count Las Cases was to have gone to Count Bertrand's to meet him.* This first attempt at secret communications with the Commissioners was thus *checked* in the outset.

Jusque là on était entré à Longwood avec des passes du Grand Maréchal.(9) C'était une condescendance de pure courtoisie, celui qui avait l'autorité et la police de l'île pouvant à son gré et sans bruit interdire tout accès auprès du Grand Maréchal et annuler ainsi son apparente prérogative. Vous la supprimâtes, Monsieur, et donnâtes néanmoins de votre chef des permissions de venir à Longwood, vous réservant ainsi dans nos idées, d'une manière choquante, le moyen de montrer à votre gré votre illustre captif comme une curiosité; il vous fut écrit à ce sujet que, si vous ne rétablissiez les choses telles qu'elles étaient, l'Empereur se résolvait à ne plus voir personne, et l'on vous pria surtout de lui épargner l'importunité de ceux qui ne viendraient que de votre chef. Quelle fut votre réponse? que vous étiez désolé d'apprendre que le *Général Bonaparte* (9ª) avait été importuné d'aucune visite, que vous alliez prendre les plus promptes mesures pour que cet inconvénient ne se renouvellât pas, et vous nous mîtes de cet instant à peu près au secret. Nous fûmes révoltés de votre mesure, et surtout de votre ironie. Elle nous parut barbare, et nous transporta d'indignation. Mais ce ne devait pas encore être là tout. Vos agents, ou je ne sais qui, dont le zèle dépassa sans doute vos intentions, firent circuler partout que l'Empereur ne voulait plus voir personne, qu'il se plaignait d'avoir été importuné par plusieurs. Ce bruit fut général au camp, à la ville, partout. Pour ma part, *j'ai détrompé à moi seul trois ou quatre personnes*, (10) imbues de

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Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

(9) I had never acknowledged any such person as the *Grand Maréchal.* I suppressed the authority which had been given to him under certain restrictions in the first instance, and which had led to great abuses of granting passes in his own person; but I never gave any pass direct to visit General Bonaparte, addressing every person in the first instance to Count Bertrand, leaving it to him to arrange for their reception.

(9ª) What would Count Las Cases have me call him? This letter was so little ironical that I have recently again referred to it as the precise rule by which I shall regulate my conduct with respect to visits.

(10) Here we have a fresh example of Count Las Cases' meddling interference: he supposes rumours without any spe-

cette croyance, et vous êtes surpris, offensé de certaines défiances, de certains doutes entretenus sur vous à Longwood. Mais vous, Monsieur, qui m'avez répété que vous aimiez surtout à juger sur l'examen des deux côtés, passez un moment du nôtre, jugez ces faits, et prononcez.

Alors notre horizon prit une teinte beaucoup plus sombre. Nous perdîmes du terrein chaque jour ; la terreur apparut autour de nous ; on s'éloigna sensiblement du lieu frappé de malédiction. Quand nous voulûmes aller à la ville, nous le trouvâmes moins facile. L'officier d'escorte, qui jusque là semblait n'avoir eu d'autre objet que de s'assurer que nous nous y rendions, eut ordre de suivre nos pas, de demeurer à nos conversations.(11) Nous marchâmes à grands pas vers une complète et littérale réclusion. Cependant vos notes étaient loin de porter ce témoignage. Elles nous semblaient très habilement rédigées. Il en fut une surtout qui nous frappa singulièrement. Ma mémoire ne saurait me la rappeller ; elle était relative à quelques mauvais traitements pour l'Empereur, et ne respirait que les plus respectueux égards ; ce contraste attira l'attention de celui, qu'on est si loin de connaître, dont les paroles sont promptes peut-être, mais dont la condamnation est toujours lente, et le jugement est exquis.(12) Il avait flotté longtemps

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Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

cies of foundation whatever for them, and then sets at work to undeceive people regarding them. General Bonaparte spoke to the orderly officer of these rumours, and wanted him to be the bearer of a message to the officers of his regiment contradicting them, evidently now *at Count Las Cases' suggestion.*

(11) Count Las Cases' own conduct, as avowed by him in many instances, rendered such a regulation highly necessary. As he worked in the dark it was difficult for me to be always on my guard against him ; but had I known so much as the present paper communicates to me, he should not have been permitted to communicate with any individual whatever out of the family in which he lived, except in the presence of a British officer. He could not thus so readily have undeceived unsuspecting persons of the mischief-making rumours he himself imagined or created.

(12) *Il avait flotté longtemps encore après que de notre côté*

encore, après que de notre côté nous avions déjà depuis longtemps tranché sévèrement. "L'homme est incompréhensible," avait-il dit souvent; "il est difficile à juger; il peut même faire une mauvaise action et n'être pas méchant;" mais cette fois il dit, "Agir mal et écrire bien, frapper d'une main et se blanchir de l'autre; ah! c'est habile et profond:" et il lancea la parole fatale, "*Sir Hudson Lowe est un méchant homme.*" Si vous aviez été au milieu de nous, entouré de nos circonstances, vous auriez infailliblement dit, pensé la même chose.(13)

SIR HUDSON LOWE'S NOTES.

nous avions déjà depuis longtemps tranché sévèrement. This speaks volumes of the mischief created by Count Las Cases and other persons round General Bonaparte.

(13) The letter which drew forth this observation, so maliguantly repeated by Count Las Cases, and serving as a specimen of his style and comments in various parts of his Journal, was one I addressed to Count Montholon, dated 6th July. I wish particularly to refer to it as exhibiting the real principles on which I was desirous to regulate my conduct towards General Bonaparte. It is thus every attempt to give satisfaction was tortured into an insulting or ironical meaning, and the rudest repulses received on it. Let any person suppose himself in the situation I was in, and ask how he would have either written or acted. It is probable General Bonaparte never uttered the precise words used by Count Las Cases, or has since forgotten them, for he has recently contradicted, in a most pointed manner, some expressions Count Las Cases repeated of him. Count Las Cases, speaking to a person of General Bonaparte's going so rarely out anywhere, said,—"C'est qu'il *déteste à voir*—qu'il a une *horreur d'habit rouge.*" This was repeated to General Bonaparte, who immediately answered in his strong manner, "E una *bugia:* I never said such a thing; I respect a brave soldier and a good officer, of whatever nation he may be." General Bonaparte may possibly have dropped some such expression and forgotten it, but it accorded too much with Count Las Cases' own national prejudices not to be treasured up by him. It is thus General Bonaparte is made the organ of every national and personal resentment that Count Las Cases himself feels.

Nous abordons un point délicat, celui des dépenses; un jour il nous fut signifié que de vingt et quelques mille livres sterling employés pour nous, des ordres supérieurs vous forçaient de descendre à huit mille; que si l'Empereur voulait vous remettre entre les mains le surplus, les choses resteraient les mêmes; mais qu'à ce défaut des réductions devenaient indispensables. L'Empereur n'avait pas d'argent; toute communication avec l'Europe lui est interdite. Vous procédâtes aux réductions. Vous jugeâtes vous-même la somme de 8000*l.* absolument insuffisante. Vous prîtes sur vous, m'avez-vous dit ici, de la porter jusqu'à 12,000*l.*, et vous m'avez montré de l'étonnement de n'avoir obtenu aucune reconnaissance pour cet objet. Monsieur, l'indignation, et l'indignation portée au comble, ne laisse de place à aucun autre sentiment. Si vous ne recontrâtes et ne recueillîtes que cette indignation, elle ne s'adressait pas plus à vous qu'à vos supérieurs, qu'à la nature entière; et quel autre sentiment pouvaient éprouver des captifs (14) qui en ce moment sentaient renouveller dans leur cœur et dans toute son amertume le souvenir de la bonne foi trahie, la terrible hospitalité du Bellérophon, qui se regardaient ici par la plus inique perfidie, qui se disaient arrâchés insidieusement à leur liberté, à leur fortune, qu'on avait chargés de chaînes, et avec qui on marchandait en ce moment leur subsistance, comme si elle eut été le résultat d'une faveur mendiée, d'un asyle sollicitée? Que devaient éprouver des gens avec qui on voulait discuter des objets qu'au milieu de leurs grands infortunes ils comptaient pour rien; qui, les eut-on comblés, n'eussent encore jamais vu que ce dont on les privait? que pouvaient-ils éprouver quand on venait leur supputer les trois ou quatre places qu'on disait

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Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

(14) Here Count Las Cases again identifies himself with General Bonaparte. In reading what follows one may well exclaim, as General Bonaparte himself once did, "Du sublime au ridicule il n'y a qu'un pas." At all events I did what I could to diminish the inconvenience of the retrenchments ordered, by taking upon my own responsibility to increase the allowance one half; and drew upon myself as usual, and as confessed by Count Las Cases, nothing but abuse and reproaches instead of acknowledgment.

avoir permis de composer la table de l'Empereur—un dîner qu'on lui avait accordé de donner par semaine, et autres choses semblables? Ce contraste du froid calcul des bureaux avec la tempête de nos passions n'aurait-il pas dû vous frapper vous-même? De tels détails offerts à celui qui naguères avait gouverné le monde et y fesait des rois! Croire qu'il put y descendre et les écouter! la plume tombe, le sang bouillonne, on ne sait à qui s'en prendre. "Oh! cœurs nobles et généreux de la Grande Bretagne, nation Anglaise, et vous, Prince Régent, qui la représentez et ambitionnez la gloire, ce n'est pas vous que j'accuse; je sais que vous seriez vous-mêmes des accusateurs inexorables, si ces détails vous étaient connus. Vous vous indigneriez qu'on put ainsi compromettre votre caractère—qu'au milieu de ces grands intérêts il fut question de quelques pièces d'argent, là, où il s'agit de l'honneur! est-ce là la générosité, le faste, la grandeur, dont vous vous vantez? sont cela vos sentiments? était-ce votre volonté? et c'est ainsi qu'on traite en votre nom ce grand ennemi de vingt ans; qui, à l'heure de l'adversité, vous estima assez pour choisir son refuge précisément au milieu de vous par préférence à des souverains dont l'un s'était dit son ami, l'autre était devenu son père. Ce traitement était-il dans l'intention de votre législature, où l'on avait mis en question si sur ce roc malheureux on devait le considérer en souverain ou en captif privé? était-il dans le langage de vos ministres mêmes, qui avaient dit qu'à la liberté près tout serait prodigué pour adoucir cette situation extraordinaire? et pourtant tels sont les ignominieux traitements dont on entoure celui pour lequel vous avez fait embarquer, dit-on, un palais et des superfluités splendides."

Qu'on s'étonne donc peu si ce personnage auguste commanda de lui épargner de si ignobles détails, et que, montrant de la main le camp du 53e, il s'écria, "Qu'on me laisse tranquille! si j'ai faim j'irai m'asseoir parmi ces braves gens; ils ne repousseront pas le plus vieux soldat de l'Europe."

Déjà l'Empereur, lors de notre arrivée, avait dit au sujet de quelques difficultés de la sorte,—"Si je n'avais des femmes avec moi, je ne voudrais que la ration d'un soldat."

Et quels rapports ces indignes traitements, ces nombreux marques d'égards, ces outrages si répétés, ont-ils avec la sûreté, la garde d'une personne, seul objet qu'on se propose, et qui on

a prétendu même vouloir entourer de toute la délicatesse, de toutes les indulgences possibles.

Cependant vous opérâtes vos réductions comme vous voulûtes. On nous retira des domestiques nécessaires, on nous fit des retranchements sensibles, si bien que, n'ayant réellement plus le nécessaire, il fallut y pourvoir soi-même. L'Empereur ordonna de vendre de son argenterie, et ce fut pour nous un sujet de peines et de vexations nouvelles: d'un côté les gens de l'Empereur pleurants de briser ce qu'ils regardaient comme des reliques, de l'autre les difficultés suscitées par vous à la ville et vos plaintes de ce qu'on s'était permis d'y envoyer ces objets sans vous en demander l'autorisation.

Ce fut vers ce temps qu'il fut beaucoup question de lettres venues à notre adresse, et qu'on nous dit que vous aviez renvoyées en Europe, sans nous en parler, parcequ'elles vous étaient arrivées en dehors du canal des ministres. Ce reproche vous a fort touché; il était mal fondé, m'avez-vous dit ici, jamais vous n'en avez renvoyé. Ici je vous crois, vous m'en donniez votre parole. Mais à Longwood nous ne fîmes que rire de la tournure que vous employâtes, nous sommant de dire quand et quelles lettres vous aviez renvoyées. (15) Vous seul pouviez le savoir. Il est certain que vous m'en gardâtes une trente-cinq jours. Un matin elle se trouva sur mon bureau, avec d'autres qui arrivaient fraichement. Vous m'avez dit ici qu'elle était demeurée à Plantation House par mégarde, et que vous ne voulûtes pas donner cette excuse de crainte qu'on put en douter. Je vous approuve fort, j'eusse agi de même; mais moi, qui n'en savais rien, que devais-je penser, qu'eussiez-vous pensé vous-même?

Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

(15) I was accused of stopping letters that came from the families of the persons at Longwood. Having invariably forwarded all such, without regard, in some instances, to their having come by the post or by the Secretary of State's office, I felt indignant at meeting reproach when I expected thanks, and required them to prove the ground of their accusation. This is what the gentlemen at Longwood found so pleasant.

(16) Il arriva aussi vers ce temps une circonstance qui peut servir à peindre bien des choses à la fois. Après les couches de Madame la Comtesse de Montholon un jeune ecclésiastique Anglais, très fervent, vient baptiser son enfant; nous le retînmes à déjeûner à la table de service. La religion ayant été l'objet de la conversation, sa figure me montra une étrange surprise d'entendre nos regrets de nous trouver sans prêtres: livré sans doute à la croyance vulgaire et au tas de sottises dont on nous environne sans cesse, il s'était attendu à se trouver parmi des renégats; il lui échappa d'avouer qu'on lui avait dit, et qu'il avait cru, qu'à Madère un prêtre s'était offert à nous, mais que nous l'avions repoussé, en l'apostrophant de quelque soldatesque grossièreté. Il fut bien surpris d'apprendre que, si cette offre avait eu lieu, elle nous était demeurée étrangère. Profitant de cette circonstance, je priai l'ecclésiastique après déjeûner de vouloir bien passer chez moi. Je saisis cette occasion si naturelle pour lui peindre la situation morale où nous nous trouvions. Nous avions des femmes, des enfants, et nous-mêmes, pour qui le manque des exercices religieux était une véritable privation. Nous désirions vivement y remédier sans bruit et sans ostentation. Or, c'était précisément son affaire naturelle, lui disais-je; je lui confiais nos vœux et chargeais sa conscience du soin d'y pouvoir auprès du Gouverneur. Dès cet instant je crus voir son embarras et la crainte de se commettre, tant la terreur nous environnait. Je n'en ai plus entendu parler. N'aurait-il pas osé remplir sa mission? ou aurez-vous voulu que sur ce point, comme sur tout autre, je vous en adressasse la demande moi-même? Si je ne l'ai pas fait, c'est par l'embarras et la crainte d'un ridicule toujours facile sur cet objet, comme aussi par la

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Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

(16) This is one of the most remarkable passages in the whole of the paper. To what object introduced? It never came before me in any shape to demand an instant's attention, either official or private. Count Las Cases seems to want to make it appear that General Bonaparte or the persons around him wished to have a priest, but were afraid of the ridicule the demand for one would have occasioned. There is a design in the introduction of this long article which time alone can develop. The whole of it is in Count Las Cases' peculiar manner, *jesuitical.*

crainte que, ne nous laissant pas à nous-mêmes le choix de ce médecin de l'âme, qui requiert plus de confiance encore que celui du corps, on ne nous imposat un étranger qui, loin de nous être de quelque consolation, ne nous donnerait l'idée que d'un surveillant de plus, d'un espion au milieu de nous.

Le ton des notes respectives était devenu si vif que vous crûtes devoir les interrompre pour échapper à ce que vous appeliez des injures, nous des vérités, et qui pouvaient être l'un et l'autre. Vous nous dites que vous interrompiez la correspondance. Nous nous le tenûmes pour dit, nous n'écrivions plus. Il est bien vrai que vous prétendîtes plus tard que nous avions mal interprété, c'était une dispute de mots. Vous y mettiez des conditions qui le rendaient impracticables, ce qui vous est très familier; vous exigiez désormais, par exemple, que pour qu'une plainte peut être adressée par vous à votre Gouvernement, elle fut signée de la propre main de l'Empereur. Or, comment pouviez-vous l'espérer? à qui sur la terre l'Empereur pourrait-il porter des plaintes? où est un tribunal pour lui sur la terre, si ce n'est celui des nations. L'Empereur ne peut se plaindre qu'à Dieu. Sont-ce ces plaintes que l'on a craint quand on lui a refusé d'écrire au Prince Régent sans être lu. (17)

La délicatesse sans doute semble reprouver cette pensée, mais, pourtant, quel motif a-t-on pu avoir dans une mesure également injurieuse à la dignité de ces deux grands personages? quel projet peut-on alors prêter à l'Empereur. Je vais vous le découvrir; il voulait, à l'aide de ce couvert respecté, se procurer, par la seule voie convenable qui lui demeurait, des nouvelles de sa femme et de son fils, et l'on trouva le moyen de le persécuter dans ce qu'un époux, un père, avait imaginé de plus innocent et de plus tendre.

L'interruption de toute correspondance avait été précédée de celle des communications verbales: l'Empereur, à la suite de trois ou quatres audiences, avait résolu de ne plus vous recevoir. Nous n'avions plus désormais aucun moyen de nous [vous?] atteindre.

Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

(17) No application was ever made to me to send a letter to the Prince Regent; the question occurred before my arrival.

Nous espérions ne plus vous voir. Vous n'en reparaissiez pas moins comme de coûtume. Tout fuyait à votre approche; chacun de nous cherchait son asyle; et vous continuiez triomphant la ronde du cachot où se blottissaient vos victimes.(18)

C'est sur ces entrefaites et dans ces dispositions qu'arrive d'Europe un bâtiment. Les dépêches vous parviennent, et vous venez avec pompe à Longwood, entouré d'un nombreux (19) Etat Major, demander à faire à l'Empereur des communications nouvelles et particulières. Chacun de nous, à cet éclat, à ces expressions, ne doute pas qu'elles ne soyent de plus agréables. L'Empereur, soit qu'il ne pense pas de même, soit qu'à ses yeux la nature des communications ne dut influer en rien sur la nature de l'intermédiaire, refuse de vous recevoir. Quelques jours plus tard il consent d'entendre sur ce sujet l'un de vos officiers. Qu'avait-il à lui communiquer? Les choses les plus désagréables, du style le plus choquant. "C'était dont là ce que vous lui reserviez en personne,"(20) nous écriâmes nous tous. . . . . Quel autre sentiment eussiez-vous eu à notre place? Ces dépêches portaient entre autres choses de nous faire recommencer nos déclarations et de signer la formule pure et simple qu'on nous présenterait. Lors des premières déclarations on avait cru gagner quelque chose sur nous en nous impri-

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Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

(18) Count Las Cases has an advantage over me in *imagery*. It is to be observed he addresses this paper to me in a *conciliatory* point of view.

(19) I went up with Sir Thomas Reade and one aide-de-camp.

(20) "Nous écriâmes NOUS TOUS!" Here is another example of the turn given to my official proceedings. It was fully explained at the time my object was only to make known the general contents of the instructions I had received, and to arrange for the details afterwards with his officers. I had orders to send away four persons, and it was not with any of those persons themselves I could discuss the matter. General Bonaparte himself was the only proper person to speak first to on the occasion, if any attention was desired to be shown to his wishes as to the selection of the individuals to be sent away; and this was my *only* object in desiring to communicate the instructions in the first instance to him.

mant la crainte d'être ici pour toujours. Cette fois on nous connaissait mieux. L'on était bien plus sur de nous asservir en nous menaçant de nous en faire sortir aussitôt. Aussi fut-ce avec cette alternative qu'on nous présenta une formule qui nous répugnait extrêmement dans ses expressions. Nous nous débattîmes vainement. Le *sine quâ non* retentissait sans cesse au fond de nos cœurs. Nous devions être envoyés immédiatement au Cap, et laisser seul l'objet cher et sacré de nos vœux et de nos soins, le voir descendre vivant au tombeau. Nous signâmes à son insçu, sachant que nous lui fesions de la peine. Il s'irritait de tant de vexations ; nous signâmes dans le mystère de la nuit quand il reposait, et nous nous applaudîmes de ce triomphe sur ses dispositions personnelles. C'était le triomphe de fils tendres qui trompent leur père pour le servir.

Vinrent les restrictions nouvelles accompagnant nos nouvelles déclarations. Vous y rétrécissiez de beaucoup notre première enceinte. Vous enleviez l'ancienne promenade que l'Empereur fesait jadis à cheval. Vous motiviez cette restriction, parcequ'il ne le fesait plus. Vous ajoutiez, avec beaucoup de formes, que s'il lui prenait jamais envie de la refaire, sur son désir les postes seraient rétablis pour le tems de cette promenade. (21) Nous nous répétâmes aussitôt, "Voilà encore frapper d'une main et se blanchir de l'autre ; maltraiter méchamment ici, et se tenir habilement en mesure vis-à-vis des Ministres et de l'opinion ;" car il n'était pas faisable de replacer les postes pour cette promenade de fantaisie, et vous nous connaissiez trop bien pour craindre qu'on vous le demandât jamais. Le reste des restrictions contenait des choses plus ou moins désagréables pour chacun de nous, qui en prîmes ou en laissâmes ce que nous voulûmes. Mais ce qu'on aurait de la peine à imaginer, et que peu voudront croire, c'est que vous y disiez que, si l'Empereur

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Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

(21) There was no communication made that the post would be re-established. He had not once used that road during eight months from the time of my arrival ; but, if he wished to use it, the simple form of making the orderly officer acquainted with his desire is thus perverted into an insult. Here Count Las Cases makes his own comments ; they are no longer those of General Bonaparte ; he only echoes this malignity.

dans ses promenades venait à rencontrer quelqu'un, il ne devait pas aller au delà des paroles que prescrit la politesse ordinaire. (22) Quelles restrictions? quelles formes? à qui les adressiez-vous? Quels furent nos sentiments? Ce ne fut pas de l'indignation, depuis longtems elle était épuisée; il ne nous restait plus désormais pour les nouvelles insultes qu'une espèce d'ébahissement stupide; mais si ces restrictions gagneraient l'Europe, si elles y devenaient publiques,—et l'on nous a assuré que vous les aviez tenues ici dans une espèce de mystère,—si elles étaient connues des peuples, si elles parvenaient aux rois auprès desquels vous avez été, quels sentiments croyez-vous que seraient les leurs? Quoiqu'il en soit, nous les avons dévorées en nous-mêmes, nous donnant bien de garde de les laisser parvenir jusqu'à l'auguste personnage qui en était l'objet et qui les ignore probablement encore à cette heure.(23) Cependant on multiplia partout les sentinelles, on avança les heures où elles nous resserraient; on creusa des fossées, on palissada le tour de l'établissement et de son écurie, qui en était à deux pas; on arma deux véritables redoutes, que les Chinois et les soldats qui les élevaient nommèrent gaiement à nos yeux le fort Hudson et le fort Lowe.(24)

Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

(22) It was a request made to General Bonaparte, to avoid he necessity of any unpleasant interference with him if he was observed to be conversing at length with persons who, without the Governor's authority, might endeavour to throw themselves expressly in the way for that purpose. As the request, however, gave so much umbrage, it was rescinded from the regulation, but I have been compelled to provide for the observation of the rules by other means.

(23) Count Las Cases must know he here writes what is not *true*. He *dared* not conceal the knowledge of any such paper from General Bonaparte, who *did see* it, and *made his own observations upon it.*

(24) These were enclosures put round the house and garden by his own desire to keep cattle out. The Corsican and French domestics at Longwood are as witty as the *Chinese.* They have a sobriquet for all the persons of the family, such as "Un tel *le menteur*, et Count Las Cases *le Jésuite.*"

Qu'est-il résulté de tout cela? C'est que l'Empereur, qu'on avait dégoûté de ses promenades à cheval, qui s'était réduit à quelques malheureux tours à pied dans le jardin ou dans le bois, rencontrant partout à chaque pas des objets qui le heurtaient, s'est renfermé dans la chambre, où vous le ferez mourir infailliblement sous peu. La faculté pense que ce défaut absolu d'exercice l'y conduit à grands pas. Elle a dû vous le faire connaître. Il est certain que c'est son opinion. Vous répondez que c'est l'Empereur qui l'aura voulu, et que vous vous en lavez les mains; mais vous lui avez donc rendu la vie bien insupportable, si vous convenez ainsi qu'il appelle et désire la mort. Quelle effroyante responsabilité! Et si je voulais m'y arrêter, Monsieur, peut-être vous convaincrais-je quels tendres soins, quelle anxieuse sollicitude (du moins durant le tems de votre administration) devraient vous inspirer la crainte des derniers moments de ce grand homme.

(25) Je viens de passer maintenant en revue les principales circonstances dont j'ai été témoin à Longwood. A présent laissez-moi vous demander à mon tour, Monsieur, quels peuvent avoir été les causes, les motifs, de ces rapides et sévères aggravations, de cette situation journellement et si cruellement empirée? La haute et importante portion de votre ministère, celle de veiller à la demeure de l'Empereur Napoléon dans l'île de St. Hélène, n'est elle pas la même que lors de son arrivée et de la vôtre dans cette île? D'où viennent de si durs et si barbares changements? Le danger s'est-il accru? les chances se sont-elles multipliées? avez-vous découvert quelque complot? quelque correspondance s'était-elle établie? avez-vous saisi quelque fil? pouvez-vous indiquer quelques faits, préciser quelques soupçons? Non; et si vous ne prétendez par là que combattre toutes les chances possibles et à prévoir, où

Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

(25) On recurring to these circumstances, what do they prove? Count facts as exhibited by Count Las Cases' own statements, and judge. They are mere pretexts for quarrel raised out of the hot-bed of disappointed ambition, mortified self-love, and national vanity, aggravated by every malicious comment that a rancorous spleen, disdainful of every regard to truth or real delicacy, can dictate.

vous arrêterez-vous? Car la mort seule peut les embrasser toutes. Mais il est notoire, et vous en conviendrez sans doute, que, depuis votre arrivée dans l'île, le premier, le seul acte quelconque est celui pour lequel je me trouve ici en ce moment.(26) Vous avez pu croire d'abord que vous alliez découvrir de grandes choses. Vous avez vu avec quelle facilité, quel calme, j'ai couru au devant de vos idées. Je me suis prêté à vous ouvrir à discrétion mes papiers les plus secrets, ceux qui contenaient jour par jour mes pensées et mes actions. Vous avez pu vous y convaincre de mon assertion émise plus haut que cette circonstance actuelle est la première, le seule de ce genre, et vous savez actuellement que cette circonstance n'est rien, mais absolument rien. Il est donc vrai, ou du moins nous avons dû nous en pénétrer, et tout homme impartial le pensera avec nous, que l'aigreur, l'irritation, les sentiments personnels, ont conduit toutes ces mesures beaucoup plus que la nécessité du devoir public. (27) Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est qu'on en est convaincu à Longwood ; nous vous y regardons comme l'aggravateur de nos jours ; le calme de ma solitude, un tout autre point de vue, arrête ici des expressions plus fortes qui m'eussent échappeés sans doute de Longwood, de cet antre du malheur que vous avez rendu une fournaise pour nos sensations. On y croit donc que c'est à vos ressentiments personnels que nous devons toutes vos aggravations et l'empirement de nos maux. Personne moins que moi n'est disposé à préjuger le mal. Mais je sais que l'homme dans ses déterminations échappe rarement à des impulsions secretes qui se dérobent à lui-même en se cachant dans les replis du cœur. Descendez dans le vôtre, sondez, analysez, vous vous étonnerez peut-être. Je suis d'autant plus fondé à insister là dessus que dernièrement vos visites ont aidé à m'instruire. Vous vous plaignez d'irritation,

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SIR HUDSON LOWE'S NOTES.

(26) Count Las Cases had deserved it for many others.

(27) This *aigreur*, *irritation*, *sentiments personnels*, is precisely what it was the object of General Bonaparte and Count Las Cases—the former probably at the suggestion of the latter—to urge me to. Nothing mortified General Bonaparte so much as my "*impassibilité*." Of this the Journal contains a proof.

vous parlez souvent de votre calme, et vous êtes très irritable et très souvent irrité. Vous vous flattez de faire abnégation de vos propre sentiments; d'être pleinement impartial, et vous êtes très passionné; d'être étranger à la haîne, et vous la ressentez vivement; et, ce qu'il y a de pis pour pouvoir nous entendre, c'est que vous croyez dire vrai, et que je suis très porté à croire que vous vous en imposez à vous-même. Nous ne voyons jamais dans nos relations que le mauvais côté des choses, dites vous sans cesse; vous êtes plus impartial, plus franc, plus juste, dans vos rapports. Rarement on est bon juge dans sa propre cause, Monsieur; cette impartialité, cette exactitude, est précisément ce dont nous doutons le plus. Vous avez à cet égard un grand avantage sur nous. C'est sur nos pièces que vous faites ces observations et vos repliques. Mais nous—où sont les vôtres? quel ne devrait pas être l'embarras de ceux qui auraient à prononcer entre nous, quand nous nous produisons ainsi au grand jour, et que vous vous demeurez dans le mystère! quel moyen nous reste alors de nous défendre de vos erreurs? Cette reflexion ne peut manquer de frapper un jour vos Ministres, s'ils veulent être justes. (28)

Le peu que nous connaissons de vos idées est la plupart du tems captieux et trompeur. Ce sont des tournures parfaitement justes en principes,—inadmissibles, nulles dans l'application. Ainsi, par exemple, vous m'avez dit ici, qu'à la garantie de la personne de l'Empereur près, et aux communications avec lui sans votre autorisation, vous étiez prêt à adopter tout ce qui pourrait améliorer notre situation. Quoi de plus raisonnable? me suis-je écrié. Mais dès que nous sommes entrés dans les détails, vous eussiez été tenté d'aller encore plus loin que vous n'êtes déjà, et ainsi de beaucoup d'autres choses. Mais revenons à ce qui me concerne personnellement; j'étais celui qui attirait surtout votre attention, et sur lequel se dirigeait distinctement, je le pensais ainsi, votre malveillance. Je le méritais; le plus tranquille peut-être par caractère, je me suis montré le

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Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

(28) You have here, Count Las Cases, a full opportunity to make known to them everything you wish; and in a following paragraph you say the present letter conveys your sentiments with even less reserve than if you wrote in private.

plus susceptible par la circonstance. J'ai été le plus ardent. J'étais fier, plein de ma situation. J'osais l'exprimer en toute liberté. Vous devez tout ce que j'ai fait, écrit, à ce sentiment; rien à la méchanceté, elle m'est étrangère; ainsi je peignais, j'exprimais dans mes lettres tout ce que je voyais, tout ce que j'éprouvais, et avec d'autant moins de scrupule pour ce qui vous concernait, que je vous l'envoyais à vous-même. Si j'eusse écrit dans le mystère, peut-etre j'eusse été plus retenu. Ces lettres vous ont déplu; armé contre moi, vous avez fini par me les interdire en m'insinuant que vous me retireriez d'auprès de l'Empereur si je continuais.

(29) Vous m'avez vu demander en Europe des objets nécessaires à ma personne. Vous êtes venu me dire qu'il en existait, envoyés d'Angleterre, dont je pourrais faire usage. J'étais résolu que vous ne me trouveriez jamais individuellement sur la note de vos dépenses, ni sur la liste d'aucune demande. Je vous refusai; alléguant qu'il n'était pas dans mes habitudes d'accepter rien tant que je possédais quelque chose, que je voulais conserver mes sentiments libres, ne pas les gêner par la reconnaissance. Vous me fîtes dire à quelques jours de là que vous vous plaindriez de ce que je refusais *avec mépris* ce que m'offrait votre Gouvernement. Vous vous plaigniez de mes conversations avec ceux qui passaient. Je détruisais à leurs yeux les inepties ridicules qu'on avait entassées sur le plus grand des caractères. Je leur apprenais des traits *qui leur étaient inconnus et dont ils demeuraient frappés.* (30) Vous me reprochiez de propager avec zèle ce qui nous concernait, de manière à le faire pénétrer en Europe. Je me croyais celui qu'on égorge à l'écart dans un champ, et qui, à défaut de secours, prend à témoin les oiseaux de passage; était-ce manquer à votre pays, violer les lois, que de leur faire parvenir la vérité?

SIR HUDSON LOWE'S NOTES.

(29) Here Count Las Cases acknowledges he *refused* my attentions, and drew forth an insult to himself from the offer. In a subsequent part he complains of his wants not being attended to.

(30) Count Las Cases must have spoken to many persons who did not do me the favour to make anything known of what he communicated.

c'était les servir, bien mériter d'eux. Vos efforts contre nous à cet égard, vos excessives et sévères precautions contre vos propres compatriotes mêmes, ne pouvaient, disions-nous, qu'accroître et justifier notre intime persuasion que; vous confiant dans la distance et votre situation pour légitimer *vos actes arbitraires* (31) aux yeux du Gouvernement; vous n'aviez plus d'autre crainte que de les savoir connus du public. Autrement pourquoi nous tenir au secret? pourquoi gêner la vue et la conversation de vos compatriotes, s'il n'y avait rien à leur cacher? était-ce crainte que nous leur fissions de fausses peintures? mais il leur fallait au contraire les laisser voir par eux-mêmes, et, les faits détrompant leurs yeux, ils fussent partis en plaignant nos malheurs de nous exagérer ainsi nos peines.

Lorsqu'il fut question d'ôter quelqu'un d'auprès de l'Empereur, vous déclarâtes que votre choix tomberait sur moi(32) si vous ne croyiez que je lui fusse utile. En un mot, vos insinuations, vos avertissements, se répétaient en toute occasion. Je m'en importais peu, j'en dois convenir. Arrivé à un certain degré, le martyr ne calcule plus des tourments, on s'y complaît peut-être. Et depuis longtems j'avais atteint ce point. La mesure était comblé au physique comme au moral; j'étais littéralement à peine à l'abri des injures de l'air dans ma demeure; s'il pleuvait, j'y étais inondé; s'il fesait du soleil, j'y étais étouffé. Mon fils et moi nous n'avions pour chambre-à-coucher que l'espace de deux très petits lits. Nous étions l'un sur l'autre. En vérité j'eusse été mieux à New Gate. Sans le motif sacré qui tenait mon âme en force, mon corps eut infailliblement suc-

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Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

(31) *Actes arbitraires!* where are they specified? If any such had been committed, would not Count Las Cases have availed himself of the strong argument this would have afforded him?

(32) I suffered Count Las Cases to remain so long after receiving authority to send away four persons, solely from consideration to General Bonaparte, to whom I considered him useful. It is likely Count Las Cases himself felt disappointed at this determination, for he *began immediately afterwards* to take such steps as compelled me to remove him, and by this means perhaps save his honour with his chief.

combé il y a longtems. Vous ne pouviez, vous ne deviez, ignorer cet état. Si je me suis obstiné à ne vous rien adresser à ce sujet, je fesais ce qui était digne. C'était à vous d'y remédier de vous-même. (33) "Il doit veiller sur moi pour le bien aussi bien que pour le mal," me disais-je. Le vrai c'est qu'on semblait nous considérer comme ces objets de réprobation pour qui tout est encore trop bon; et pourtant, à Dieu ne plaise que j'ose appeller l'attention sur un objet auguste, si merveilleusement recouvert par l'élan de tout un peuple, et qui n'en a été arraché de nouveau que par les efforts aveugles des nations et l'ostracisme inquiet des rois. Je ne veux parler que de ceux qui l'entourèrent. Qu'avait-on à me reprocher,—à moi, qui, victime de deux grandes révolutions, et toujours au rebours de mes intérêts, ai perdu mon patrimoine en soutien d'un monarque qu'on avait abattu, et sacrifié ma famille, ma fortune, donné ma liberté, pour soigner un monarque qu'on avait élevé? (34)—à ce vénérable Grand Maréchal, le modèle du dévouement et de toutes les vertus, qu'avait-on à lui reprocher? et de même des autres.

"Non," me disais-je alors avec orgueil, "nous ne sommes pas des coupables, ni même des gens ordinaires. Nous professons la plus grande, la plus noble, la plus rare des vertus; nous donnons un bel exemple au monde, nous nous gravons à jamais dans les cœurs généreux. Nous soutenons ici l'honneur de ceux qui entourent les rois. Après nous on ne dira plus qu'il n'est pas de dévouement, de fidélité,(35) d'amour près des

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Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

(33) I visited Count Las Cases' rooms, and afterwards directed Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard to do the same, in order to have some improvements effected in them, when General Bonaparte himself interfered, and would allow no repairs to go on. This was reported at the time, but judgment of the matter may be safely left to Count Las Cases' own account of it.

(34) And perhaps is at this moment plotting how to approach, flatter, and undermine the sovereign who has succeeded him.

(35) It is not unlikely one of Count Las Cases' main objects in accompanying General Bonaparte to St. Helena was to col-

trônes malheureux, ou bien l'on sera forcé de convenir du moins que Napoléon avait su les créer.

J'avais un domestique habitant de l'île. Il vous donna de l'ombrage, vous décidâtes de me l'enlever. Rien de plus simple ; mais vous voulûtes le remplacer par un de votre choix. Je le refusai ; je répondis à votre officier que vous pouviez par la force mettre garnison dans ma chambre, mais jamais de mon consentement ; que, si je ne pouvais avoir un domestique de mon choix, je me servirais de mes propres mains. Vous persistâtes, et je dus demeurer sans domestique.(36) Cependant il vous était si aisé de me satisfaire, puisque vous pouviez limiter mon choix par vos refus. Ce domestique que vous m'avez enlevé revint peu de tems après me dire qu'il comptait se rendre en Angleterre, et m'offrait ses services. Je lui donnai deux lettres secretes. Vous aviez vérifié à présent qu'elles n'étaient rien. L'une était une relation au Prince Lucien qui vous avait été destinée ; l'autre une pure communication d'amitié. (37) N'im-

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Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

lect materials for his historical work : insinuating himself by every possible means, by a gross flattery and adulation, such as was never before paid to any European monarch, into the good graces of Napoleon, undermining all his other French followers, for he had alternately quarrelled with all of them (and at the time of his separation from Longwood was hardly on speaking terms with the only two who dined at the table with Napoleon and him), drawing everything he possibly could from him, sacrificing his son's health in the labours of an incessant compilation of what he gathered, in opposition to the express warnings of his medical advisers that his health would be ruined by it, and, when he had made up his packet, to depart. This idea was mentioned to General Bonaparte, who was forcibly struck with it, and said "*it was perhaps so.*"

(36) Three persons were sent successively to Count Las Cases to make his selection from. He might have had as many more to choose from, but the description of servant he required was a *soldier*, who *could read English and copy letters for him*—not to be selected by me, but, on inquiry amongst the regiments, by another person.

(37) The letter to Lady Clavering "*a simple communication*

porte, vos restrictions avaient été enfreintes, et je suis ici. J'ai regardé comme au dessous de moi de discuter jusqu'à quel point s'étendaient vos droits sur ma personne. S'il y avait excès, les lois m'en feraient justice. Je ne marchande point une peine. J'accepte ce qui se trouve, et m'en punis le lendemain moi-même au centuple. Je me suis imposé le plus grand, le plus pénible des sacrifices. "On m'a souillé," vous ai-je écrit; "je ne pourrais plus être désormais un sujet de consolation pour l'Empereur. Je ne serais plus à ses yeux qu'un objet flétri qui lui rappellerait d'injurieux souvenirs. (38) Je me bannis de Longwood. J'irai au loin implorer de le revoir, et je reviendrai j'espère par une route distante et purifiée. Je me retire de la sujétion volontaire où je me plaçais vis-à-vis de vous. Je me remets sous la protection des lois, et vous demande ma liberté." Toutefois, si j'ai dédaigné de considérer ce que vous aviez fait vis-à-vis de moi en m'arrachant de Longwood, il n'a pu m'échapper de sentir vos torts dans la violation de ce sanctuaire malheureux. Il vous eut été si aisé de m'appeller au siège de votre Gouvernement; j'étais à vos ordres; vous auriez obtenu le même résultat, et vous eussiez épargné la blessure profonde que vous aurez causé. (39)

Une fois spécialement entre vos mains, je me plais à le confesser, je me suis vu entouré d'égards que je n'attendais pas.

Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

of friendship!!" Read the contents, and judge of Count Las Cases' mode of stating matters.

(38) Count Las Cases had predetermined not to return to Longwood. This is an extract of the first letter he addressed to me after his separation. His introduction of the passage on this occasion, knowing I had not communicated his letter, and supposing a copy would be sent of the present paper, shows how eager he was to have this strained excuse for not returning, on my offer to him of doing so, made known to General Bonaparte, whilst it might tend to keep alive the *injurieux souvenirs* he anticipates will be cherished against me.

(39) I should not have obtained the same results; his papers would not have been secured. If the wound is a *deep* one, it is one that Count Las Cases has caused to be inflicted upon himself.

J'ai vu chaque jour quelque différence meilleure que je n'aurais pas soupçonnée. Cette énigme m'a singulièrement frappé. "Serait-ce facilité de mon caractère?" me disais-je; "me serais-je trompé à Longwood? me tromperais-je ici?". Non, vous ne me sembliez pas en effet le même. Je ne vous voyais plus, comme je vous ai dit, au travers du crêpe sanglant; enfin, j'ai découvert le nœud. (40) C'est qu'ici je me suis trouvé à votre niveau; tout a été en harmonie entre nous, et vous ne l'avez jamais été un instant avec cette gigantesque échelle de Longwood, dont vous ne voulez pas appercevoir la grandeur, ou que vous vous obstinez à vouloir réduire plutôt que de monter pour l'atteindre. Vous avez tracé un cercle trop étroit pour renfermer des objets qui débordent en tout sens; et vous les mutilez de toute manière pour les contraindre d'y entrer. Vous vous irritez de ne pas réussir. Vous rappellez l'idée de celui qui dans la fable appliquait les voyageurs sur son trop petit lit, amputant tout ce qui en dépassait. Vous avez parlé d'erreur dans nos positions; la voilà, Monsieur, la véritable erreur. Je l'ai découverte, et depuis j'explique tout. Essayez de la méditer à votre tour, et voyez ce que vous en penserez vous-même. Vainement vous objecteriez la lettre de vos instructions. Il n'en saurait être pour un ministère aussi important, aussi extraordinaire, que le vôtre. Elle vous placerait au dessous de votre mission; elle est grande cette mission, si vous ne sauriez la trop élever. De quelle illustration vous vous plaisez à vous priver! Dans la poursuite de la gloire, après ma situation à Longwood, le premier poste que j'eus demandé à la fortune eût été d'être le Gouverneur de cette île. (41) J'eusse connu toute l'importance,

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Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

(40) Here a very remarkable change of style ensues. Count Las Cases is placed more under my power, and, in proportion as he has opportunities of communication, finds himself deceived in the opinions he had at first formed of me. He even pays me the compliment to say he finds me on the same level as himself. But will all this undo the mischief his former unjust prejudices and resentments have occasioned, or do away the malevolence of his intentions?

(41) I know also the importance of the duty intrusted to me. It is not merely to prevent his escape, but to prevent, as far as

l'étendue de mon devoir. Je l'eusse rempli. La sûreté de mon captif eût été garantie. Mais au dedans de cela, je n'eus pas voulu lui laisser un désir. Il ne m'eut pas suffi qu'il m'estimât, je l'aurais forcé de m'aimer. Je n'eusse abordé ses chaînes qu'à genoux, et qu'on ne me dise pas que des instructions, des ordres sévères me forceraient de faire le contraire en dépit de moi-même. Le riche traitement de St. Hélène, les honneurs que ce poste pourrait me valoir, la confiance dont il me serait déjà le garant, ne me seraient rien auprès de l'indépendance du cœur et du suffrage de l'opinion. D'autres me succéderaient.

Et quels perils ne pouvez-vous pas vous composer? Vous connaissez mieux que moi l'histoire de votre pays. Vous savez combien de chefs, de généraux, après des missions pénibles et difficiles, sont tombés victimes du changement du pouvoir ou du caprice de l'opinion. S'il vous arrivait quelque malheur, que de voix peut-être s'élèveraient d'ici contre vous? Vous pouvez vous creuser un abîme. Vous me répondrez par le témoignage de votre conscience. Sans doute c'est le plus grand, le plus consolant, le plus doux, mais il n'est plein et entier qu'avec Dieu; (42) il n'est que trop souvent insuffisant avec les hommes. Combien il en est qui avec une confiance pure ont succombé sous la douleur de l'injustice de l'opinion! Combien d'autres sont demeurés flétris par la calomnie victorieuse! (43) Votre juge Jeffries, je crois, d'odieuse mémoire, d'un nom si exécré,

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Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

lies in my power, any artful fanatic admirer who obtains a facility for approaching him making him a handle for their [his?] own views. To conciliate the execution of my duty with every regard possible to his personal feelings and comfort forms one of the leading features of my instructions, and I have no necessity for any advice from Count Las Cases as to my mode of executing them, where rude, repulsive manners on one side, and artful insinuations on the other, do not place it out of my power.

(42) This is truly "un morale de Jésuites."

(43) Count Las Cases and *his Chief* have *done* all that lies in *their power* to *inflict upon* me the *injury* of which the former now gives me warning.

peut-être, après tout, n'était-il qu'un homme exécutant à la lettre des règlements barbares. (44) Les tems des chances malheureux, la calomnie, l'exagération, l'esprit de parti auront pu faire le reste, et voilà comme on peut s'inscrire à faux dans l'histoire? et quel héritage(45) . . . . . Comment s'y exposer s'il pouvait en être autrement? et ici, Monsieur, qui pourrait vous soutenir dans le cas d'une lutte fatale? Il n'est plus, aujourd'hui que deux grands partis. Vous êtes né au sein des idées libérales, et je ne vous fais pas l'injustice de croire qu'elles ne demeurent votre doctrine. Mais, par un bizarrerie singulière, vous vous trouvez en ce moment comme l'agent direct de la vieille aristocratie. Si vous étiez jamais dans le cas d'en appeller à l'opinion publique pour des griefs de la nature dont il s'agit ici, n'en doutez pas vous auriez contre vous dans toutes les nations tous ceux de votre religion, et ne pensez pas que vous eussiez du moins pour support tous ceux du parti contraire. J'en ai longtems fait partie. J'en connais le fort et le faible. Qui nie qu'à côté d'hérésies politiques là résident essentiellement l'élévation d'âme et la générosité de sentimens? Vous en seriez abandonné.

A présent je vous ai dit franchement tous les griefs et les sentiments revenus à mon souvenir; je vous ai parlé avec la dernière liberté, mais avec la meilleure intention; non avec le fiel qui désire blesser, mais avec le sentiment qui veut instruire. Je répète encore ici, que, si je venais à m'être trompé dans quelques citations, les pièces officielles m'ont manqué; et si je ne me trouvais pas dans le vrai pour toute autre chose, je serais du moins dans l'erreur de bonne foi; j'ai pensé, cru, senti, véritablement tout ce que j'ai écrit. En le lisant je désire que vous y portiez les dispositions avec lesquelles je l'ai tracé. J'aime à le redire, j'ai bien moins songé à vous faire des reproches qu'à

Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

(44) Here Count Las Cases reverts again to his insidious attacks.

(45) It is the very man who has attempted to do me this irreparable injury, who has done his very utmost to "*m'inscrire à faux dans l'histoire,*" and who knows I am acquainted with it, that now presumes to present to me his envenomed advice. I thank him however for the candour of his warnings.

vous mettre à même de méditer, de répondre, peut-être de réparer, fut-ce à mes dépens.

(46) Puisse de cette lecture naître d'utiles lumières et un meilleur avenir! et c'est ici le lieu de vous faire connaître la situation où j'ai laissé Longwood. Aucune expression ne saurait la rendre dignement. L'existence y était devenue intolérable; privé de toute communication, véritablement au secret, nos heures étaient devenues de plomb. Tout jusqu'à l'air que nous respirons ne nous semblait plus qu'une fade poison. Le dégoût de la vie y était au dernier terme. Le fardeau surpassait nos forces, et pour comble de malheur nous voyions dépérir à chaque heure celui pour lequel nous vivions, et son sourire muet nous annonçait chaque jour plus significativement que bientôt il briserait nos chaînes . . . . mes larmes coulent . . . nos maux étaient tels dans cette demeure que s'il était possible d'y interrompre un moment le devoir sacré qui y remplit nos âmes et les gouverne,—s'il était possible, dis-je, qu'il y eût ce moment de distraction qui rendrait chacun à soi-même,—je ne serais pas surpris que nos malheureux compagnons l'employassent à s'entre donner la mort, à l'exemple de quelques anciens, pour se libérer des peines de la vie, et qu'on vint nous apprendre un matin que Longwood n'est plus qu'un sépulcre, et que vous n'avez plus à votre garde que des cadavres. Je vous peins ici du reste la pensée qui m'a tentée, le sentiment qui m'a surpris plus d'une fois; et lorsque vous m'avez enlevé à cet horrible séjour, si c'eut été pour me conduire à la mort, je n'eus pas fait un pas pour m'y dérober—peut-être m'eut elle semblé un bienfait.

Un tel état de choses, de tels supplices, sont-ils dans le vœu,

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Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.

(46) As Count Las Cases here ceases to attack me, I cease to reply to him. So far as professions go he appears sincere, and I wish to look no further into his motives and expressions throughout than what the obvious sense of them points out. In this respect I am willing to accept the latter as favourable, in the same manner that I have regarded most of the preceding passages to be eminently offensive, answering them as they came under my hand as their tenor appeared to me to deserve. Many parts would require a fuller comment, and may meet it.

l'esprit de votre prince, de vos ministres, de votre législature, de votre nation, de votre cœur? Quelle fatalité! . . . . d'où vient donc tout le mal que vous causez?

Quoiqu'il en soit, de loin comme de près, un seul sentiment remplit mon cœur et y fait taire tous les autres. Veillez à la santé de l'Empereur, conservez ses jours; je vous bénirai.

(Signé) LE COMTE DE LAS CASES.

No. 56.

TO COUNT BERTRAND.

Monsieur le Grand Maréchal, Balcombe's Cottage, Déc. 20, 1816.

Le Gouverneur Sir Hudson Lowe vient de m'offrir avec beaucoup de politesse et d'intérêt de retourner à Longwood. Sur mon refus et l'observation qui l'a suivie de n'y jamais rentrer que par l'exprès désir de l'Empereur, le Gouverneur m'a ajouté qu'il avait des raisons de croire que l'Empereur le désirait—ce désir, Monsieur le Grand Maréchal, serait ma loi suprême; il comblerait mon cœur et vaincrait à l'instant la constance avec laquelle j'étais résolu de souffrir un supplice inexprimable en l'honneur des lois et de mon caractère—toutefois avant de recevoir l'expression de ce désir que j'invoque de toute mon âme, je m'estimerais heureux de pouvoir vous faire connaître les motifs qui avait déterminé tout d'abord mon refus. Je prie donc M. le Gouverneur de vouloir bien vous communiquer ma correspondance du 30 Novembre, du 2, 4, et 18 Décembre; il ne pourrait avoir objection à une chose agréable pour nous, indifférente pour lui: car, si je retourne à Longwood, je vous ferai connaître suffisamment ces pièces, et, si je n'y retournais pas, vous les sauriez il est vrai, mais ce doit être de peu d'importance, puisque vous les auriez sues si j'y avais été, et que, ne devant pas communiquer, nous n'en saurions tirer aucun avantage respectif. Le seul résultat réel ne serait donc que la satisfaction morale pour moi de vous avoir fait connaître mes pensées et mes sentiments en cette occasion. Ma reconnaissance serait entière, et la générosité du Gouverneur complète, s'il voulait me faire connaître que ce retour ne saurait préjudicier en rien à mes intérêts, et demeurerait tout à fait étranger aux lois, ce qui lui serait bien facile.

1re. En m'assurant que ce retour n'altérera en rien la nature ni l'effet des réponses qui pourraient arriver d'Angleterre, non plus que de la demande que je lui renouvelle en ce moment de me rendre en ce pays pour y traiter la santé de mon fils et la mienne, qui sont dans un état déplorable et s'empirent à chaque instant d'une manière effrayante.

2de. En déclarant qu'il ne veut, ni ne prétend, profiter en quoi que ce soit de ce retour pour se libérer et s'affranchir en aucune manière quelconque de tous droits au recours que la loi pourrait me donner contre lui pour ses actes et mesures vis-à-vis de moi depuis le 25 Novembre, jour de mon enlèvement, jusqu'à celui de mon retour à Longwood. Quoiqu'il en soit, M. le Grand Maréchal, toutes ces considérations disparaîtront au seul geste, au seul signe de l'Empereur, me permettant d'aller retrouver à ses pieds un bonheur qui me manque; j'y eusse volé dès que j'ai pu en entrevoir la liberté. Mais il n'y eût eu rien en cela que pour moi; tout y eut été dans l'intérêt de mes sentiments; et mon dévouement à l'Empereur contre moi-même, mon respect profond pour tout ce qu'il peut vouloir, sont bien supérieurs.

COMTE LAS CASES.

No. 57.

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Balcombe Cottage, Déc. 22, 1816.

Vous me renvoyez avec vos corrections indiquées la lettre que j'avais écrite au Comte Bertrand sur l'offre verbale que vous m'aviez faite de retourner à Longwood. Ainsi comme cela nous arrive presque toujours ici, l'offre n'était réelle qu'en apparence, elle devait s'évanouir devant les détails de l'exécution. J'en suis peu surpris; réfléchissant l'autre jour à votre offre après votre départ, j'avais conclu qu'il en serait ainsi: vous aviez eu la bonne foi de me dire que vous ne vouliez pas permettre qu'entre Longwood et moi nous combinassions nos idées, c'est-à-dire, en d'autres mots, que nous connussions nos *véritables désirs*. Vous pouvez avoir sans doute de bonnes raisons pour cela, je ne dis pas le contraire, mais aussi de mon côté je ne dois pas me rendre dupe et concourir à induire en

erreur, peut-être, ceux qui s'intéressent à moi. Vous êtes trop avantageusement situé entre nous, et je ne dois point écrire au Comte Bertrand non mes pensées, mais ces que vous me dicteriez; je m'en abstiendrai donc. Je regarderai votre offre comme non avenue, parce qu'elle est impraticable, et je me réfèrerai irrévocablement pour mes pensées, mes sentiments, mes décisions sur cet objet, à ma première lettre du 30 Novembre.

Vous êtes dans l'erreur, Monsieur, si vous avez compris que je vous demandais des réponses à tous les arguments et les articles de mes lettres: je ne les ai insérés que pour leur résultat. Je respecte vos occupations, Monsieur, et le prix de votre tems, aussi n'ai-je demandé que le simple accusé de réception; et pour la régularité des choses, je ne pense pas que vous puissiez avoir aucune objection à me le refuser. Vous paraissez surpris, Monsieur, de l'état déplorable de notre santé en cet instant, et vous revenez deux fois à vous étonner que je ne vous en ai pas fait parvenir mes plaintes lorsque j'étais à Longwood. Monsieur, je ne songeais guères à mon corps à Longwood, et d'ailleurs quand je souffrais je me plaignais au docteur, et non à l'autorité. Vous pouvez vous informer de lui: quant à mon fils, je suis bien étonné, Monsieur, qu'il ne vous soit rien revenu par la voix publique de sa situation, des consultations qui y ont été faites à son sujet, des crises qu'il y a éprouvés, des saignées qu'il a souffertes, &c. &c.; est il bien extraordinaire que nos circonstances présentes accroissent nos maux, empirent rapidement notre état?

Je viens à votre arrêté de ma déportation au Cap: j'y lis que l'on retiendra tous ceux de mes papiers qui auront des rapports avec l'auguste personne à laquelle je trouvais doux de consacrer mes soins et ma vie. Quels autres papiers pourrais-je avoir? que veut donc dire que je serai libre d'emporter tous les autres? N'est-ce pas encore ici offrir quelque chose et ne rien donner? Vous retenez mon Journal, ce seul et véritable objet de tant de bruit, ce dépositaire, encore informe, inexact, jusqu'ici inconnu à tous, où jour par jour j'écrivais ce que je pensais, ce que je voyais, ce que j'entendais; est-il du papier plus sacré, plus à moi que celui là? et pouvez-vous prétexter cause d'ignorance de son contenu? Je vous l'ai laissé candidement, parcourir deux heures à discrétion, à feuille ouverte, ou à articles choisis

dans la table des matières, ne deviendrez-vous pas responsable de la tournure que vous lui aurez donné—de l'abus que vous en aurez fait faire? N'aurez-vous peut-être pas à vous justifier un jour de l'idée très fausse sans doute que vous en aurez donné à vos ministres. Vous me l'avez dit un *journal politique:* je n'avais pas le droit, ajoutiez vous, dans la situation où je me trouvais, de tenir registre de ce que disait l'Empereur Napoléon. C'était un abus surtout que j'y eusse introduit des pièces officielles, disiez vous; comme si tout ce que je voyais, lisais, touchais, entendais, n'étais pas de droit et sans inconvénient du domaine de ma pensée et de ma propriété tant que le recueil en demeure mystérieux et secret. Soupçonnerait-on de pareils principes puisés au sein des idées libérales d'Angleterre. N'y reconnaîtrait-on pas bien plutôt les maximes odieuses de la police du Continent? Et qui trouvera-t-on dans ce Journal? des dires, des actes, des mots sublimes de l'auguste personne qui en était l'objet; des matériaux de sa vie, et des choses peu agréables pour vous. Mais qui lui aura donné de la publicité? Ne devait-ce pas être retouché? Ne pouvait-ce être changé, altéré, rectifié? qui l'aura empêché? ce n'est pas, du reste, Monsieur, que rien de ce qui arrive aujourd'hui puisse d'ailleurs me porter jamais à dire sur ce qui vous concerne autrement que ce que je penserai, ce que je croirai vrai.

Enfin, dans votre arrêté, vous prononcez, en date du 20 Décembre, que je serai séparé de Longwood et envoyé au Cap de Bonne Espérance. Qui ne croirait, à la forme et aux expressions, que vous portez cette décision en opposition de moi-même? Tandis que vous prononcez là un jugement désormais étranger, et depuis nombre de jours, à la course nouvelle dont il s'agit, vous séparez quelqu'un qui depuis 20 jours s'est retiré entre vos propres mains, de la suggestion volontaire à laquelle il s'était soumis—qui depuis 18 jours vous a authentiquement sommé de l'éloigner de l'île—qui s'est douté de tout cela dans votre pièce. Une lettre de vous l'accompagne, me laissant le choix de me soumettre à ce jugement, ou de retourner à Longwood, attiré par l'appas du bonheur que j'y trouverais, vous laissant triomphant et tranquille maître de mes papiers les plus secrets, de nouveau votre captif, soumis encore aux mêmes fouilles, aux mêmes saisies, aux mêmes enlèvements quand cela vous plairait. Non, Monsieur, je n'ai point de choix à faire: je

n'ai qu'à vous répéter désormais toujours les même choses: "Remplissez les lois vis-à-vis de moi: si je suis coupable, faites moi juger; si je ne le suis pas, rendez moi à la liberté. Si mes papiers sont étrangers à cette affaire, rendez-les moi; si vous les croyez susceptibles d'examen grave, envoyez-les à vos ministres, et faites-moi suivre avec eux. De plus, la santé de mon fils et la mienne demandent impérieusement de se retrouver au sein de toutes les ressources: je vous implore de nous envoyer en Angleterre."

Rien n'était plus simple, et pourtant rien ne s'est plus compliqué. Vainement vous m'objecteriez vos instructions: elles n'ont pu pourvoir ces cas particuliers; vos incertitudes même me prouvent qu'elles ne vous sont ni précises ni claires: vous avez d'abord voulu me garder dans l'île au secret et séparé de Longwood, vous ne croyiez pas devoir m'envoyer au Cap. Vous tardez ici la lettre de vos instructions pour en faire sortir un résultat forcé, mais craignez d'être responsable aux ministres de les avoir mal saisies, et à moi d'avoir violé les lois en ma personne. Craignez que la plupart de ces mesures ne se trouvent à la fin des actes vexatoires et arbitraires. J'ignore quels droits, quels recours, ces lois peuvent me ménager; mais heureusement je peux dormir sur mon ignorance; je sais qu'elles veillent pour moi. Vous croirez vous quitte quand je serai au Cap séparé de mes papiers que vous retenez près de vous; mais si je demeure captif dans ce nouvel endroit, les vents vous reporteront ici mon éternel dilemme, et nos plaintes des tourments moraux que vous aurez accrus, des souffrances de corps que vous aurez empirées, car ce sera vous qui m'y retiendrez ou par vos ordres directes ou par vos instructions secrètes. On ne saurait lever de scelles qu'en présence de celui qui y est intéressé. Me ferez-vous revenir du Cap pour les lever ici? me retiendrez-vous au Cap jusqu'à ce que l'ordre vienne de les envoyer en Angleterre? ou tout cela vous menera-t-il? et il était, et il est encore un moyen si simple qui arrangerait tout. Mon penchant naturel à aplanir les affaires me fesait courir au devant de toutes les difficultés. J'obviais à tout; je me soumettais volontairement d'avance en Angleterre à toutes les mesures arbitraires qui pouvaient equivaloir à la quarantaine du Cap. Concession gratuite, laquelle même en ne l'offrant pas ne m'en laisserait pas moins ici toute la faveur et la force des lois;

j'ajoutais encore la raison si valable de la santé de mon fils et de la mienne: la crainte de blesser la lettre de quelque point de vos instructions aura été plus forte à vos yeux que la nécessité et le bon droit de céder à leur esprit, à la force des choses, à l'impulsion de l'humanité. Il en est tems encore, Monsieur: rendez-vous à ce que je solliçite. Je croirai que ce dernier sentiment l'humanité vous aura décidé; et je croirai vous devoir quelque chose. La double réclamation des papiers par Longwood et par moi ne saurait être une difficulté excusable; on demandera quel pas avez vous fait pour la lever? Voulez-vous que j'écrive moi-même à ce sujet? trois mots suffiront pour nous mettre indubitablement d'accord.

Quoiqu'il en soit, Monsieur, quelque décision que vous vous arrêtiez, quelque peine qui me soit ménagée, il n'en saurait être de comparable à celle de demeurer sur ce roc maudit lorsque j'y suis séparé de l'objet auguste qui m'y avait attiré; toute heure, toute minute que j'y passe dans cette situation sont des années pour mon malheureux fils. Je vous demande donc, et vous le redemanderai sans cesse à chaque instant—*éloignez-moi de ce lieu de souffrance.* J'ai l'honneur, &c.

LE COMTE DE LAS CASES.

No. 58.

TO GENERAL COUNT BERTRAND.

Monsieur le Comte, Plantation House, Déc. 23, 1816.

Je viens dans ce moment de chez le Comte Las Cases. Je lui ai dit que pour lever tout obstacle de ma part à son retour à Longwood, jusqu'à ce que les réponses arriveraient d'Angleterre, j'étais prêt à vous remettre la lettre qu'il vous avait destiné, et vous faire voir toute sa correspondance avec moi. Il m'a répondu, "Cela ne changerait rien. Mon sort est décidé. J'ai porté le jugement sur moi-même." Il m'a remercié cependant pour l'offre que je lui faisais. Je crois qu'il vous en écrira lui-même. J'ai, &c.

H. LOWE.

No. 59.

To General Count Bertrand.

Monsieur le Grand Maréchal, James Town, Déc. 25, 1816.

Je vous quitterai bientôt. J'obtiens liberté de vous renouveler mes adieux. Je ne sais combien de temps l'on promenera mon corps, mais veuillez dire à l'Empereur que mon âme s'en sera séparée avant de quitter la vie ;[1] en quelque lieu qu'on me jette, il ne me reste plus désormais qu'à me ressouvenir et pleurer. Cependant, ma douleur sera ma consolation et ma force. J'avais eu l'honneur de vous écrire sur une offre du Gouverneur de retourner à Longwood ; mais m'ayant renvoyé ma lettre, avec ses corrections indiquées, j'en suis revenu dès lors irrévocablement à mes premières déterminations. Vous en trouverez les motifs dans une correspondance et surtout dans ma lettre du 22 ; j'espère qu'on ne fera aucune difficulté de vous les communiquer. Le Gouverneur est revenu le lendemain et le sur-lendemain pour cet objet ; et pour me prouver sa grande sincérité de mon retour à Longwood, il m'a offert alors de vous envoyer ma lettre telle que je l'avais d'abord écrite, et d'y joindre même ma correspondance, ce qu'il m'avait d'abord refusé ; mais, "Il n'était plus temps," lui ai-je dit ; "j'avais prononcé mon propre jugement. Mes destins devaient s'accomplir." Toutefois il m'a prié, et je lui ai promis, de vous rendre témoignage de ses offres et de mon refus. Adieu ! encore une fois je vous embrasse tous et à la hâte. J'ai besoin de m'arracher à mes pensées et à mes sentimens.

(Signé) Le Comte de Las Cases.

No. 60.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Longwood, Déc. 26, 1816.

J'ai parlé de la conversation que j'ai eu l'honneur d'avoir avec vous, et j'ai communiqué la lettre en Français que vous m'avez envoyée après avoir vu le Comte Las Cases. Il a résulté que vous êtes dans l'intention de le renvoyer soit à Longwood comme avant son arrestation, soit au Cap de Bonne

[1] *Sic;* but query?

Espérance, en retenant ici ses papiers sous le scellé jusqu'à ce que votre Gouvernement en ait décidé. Le parti de renvoyer le Comte Las Cases au Cap serait bien cruel. A peine il serait arrivé au Cap que le Gouverneur le ferait rembarquer pour venir mouiller dans cette île, qui est sur le chemin du Cap en Angleterre. Vous lui auriez donc fait faire 1200 lieues et six semaines de navigation; c'est à dire, autant que d'ici en Angleterre. Ses trois domestiques partis de Longwood il y a deux mois, après avoir été au Cap, sont aujourd'hui mouillés dans cette rade, allant en Angleterre. Veuillez considérer que le Comte Las Cases est un homme agé, faible, malingre, et que son fils, jeune homme de 16 ans, est attaqué d'une maladie chronique. Si vous persistez à retenir les papiers du Comte Las Cases, je crois devoir vous réitérer l'observation que dans cette malle de papiers il y a beaucoup de notes historiques et littéraires qui nous appartiennent, et qu'il serait convenable que je pusse assister au dépouillement pour en faire la séparation. Il n'y a rien de politique. Nous avons détruit tous les papiers que nous pouvions avoir en arrivant dans ce pays. Mais ne pourriez-vous pas envoyer le Comte Las Cases en Angleterre sur la frégate où sont déjà les trois domestiques? Vous le mettriez, lui et ses papiers, à la disposition de votre Gouvernement. Cette conduite est même indiquée par le bill du Parlement. Quant au parti de le renvoyer à Longwood, nous ne pouvons pas bien comprendre où gît la difficulté. Il y a pour nous un nuage puisque vous n'avez pas laissé passer la lettre que m'a écrite le Comte Las Cases. Dans tous les cas, puisque son affaire est terminée, l'Empereur désirerait le voir demain ou après. J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.,

LE COMTE BERTRAND.

No. 61.

TO GENERAL COUNT BERTRAND.

Plantation House, Déc. 29, 1816.

Le Gouverneur a l'honneur de faire connaître au Comte Bertrand que le Comte Las Cases va s'embarquer dans le courant de cette journée. Les papiers n'ont pas encore été ôtés de dessous le sceau de ses propres armes et de celles que le

Gouverneur y a fait attacher. Le Comte Bertrand, en conséquence, aura le temps de faire connaître toute autre demande relatif aux notes historiques et littéraires réclamées par sa lettre du 26, dans le cas que la note que le Comte Las Cases a écrite avec le paquet envoyé par lui le jour après n'ait pas été satisfaisante. Le Gouverneur croit devoir faire savoir qu'il y a une collection de plusieurs feuilles séparées et morceaux d'écritures, avec des notes en marge, et remarques, épars ça et là, dans la main du Général Bonaparte, que le Comte Las Cases dit avoir recueillis par hasard, et même quelquefois à l'insçu de lui, pour les conserver comme souvenir de sa personne, et il a demandé au Gouverneur de les lui laisser prendre avec lui. Le Gouverneur n'a pas l'intention de s'opposer à un vœu si naturel, à moins que le Comte Bertrand ne les réclame au nom du Général Bonaparte, lorsqu'il le fera connaître au Comte Las Cases, afin que toute la collection soit rendue. Le Gouverneur ne les a pas lu.

No. 62.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Longwood, Déc. 29, 1816.

Je n'ai point répondu à la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser le 9 Octobre, ni ne vous ai communiqué les observations dont était susceptible le règlement qui était joint. L'esprit qui paraissait avoir dicté ce règlement parut à l'Empereur éminemment hostile et outrageant. Il jugea qu'il n'y avait rien à répondre, et que la voix de la raison serait sans force. Aujourd'hui vous désirez connaître les observations qui ont été faites. J'ai l'honneur de vous les envoyer telles qu'elles étaient rédigées pour servir à complainte à faire en Angleterre. Il ne peut que rejaillir du déshonneur sur votre nation et sur vous d'opprimer un grand homme dont les souffrances sont partagées par tant de milliers d'hommes. Vous sentirez, mais trop tard peut-être, la vérité de cette pensée. L'Empereur ayant été hier fort incommodé et toute la journée au lit, je n'ai point voulu lui communiquer le refus contenu dans votre lettre de permettre au Comte Las Cases de lui faire ses adieux. Le Comte Las Cases, après avoir été arraché de

Longwood, sans qu'il ait pu prendre congé de l'Empereur, a été détenu un mois au secret sans avoir aucune communication avec nous. Vous lui avez ensuite offert de se rétablir à Longwood comme par le passé. Il ne quitte ce pays que sur sa demande. On ne peut, donc, l'empêcher de prendre congé de l'Empereur, qui le verra peut-être pour la dernière fois. Le Comte Las Casés connaît depuis longtemps la pensée de l'Empereur; il va aller au Cap; il s'écoulera probablement cinq ou six mois avant qu'il n'arrive en Europe. Sa visite est sans inconvénient, et y en eut-il, ces inconvénients seraient moindres que ceux toujours attachés à la violation de ce qui est sacré chez les hommes. J'ai donc l'honneur de vous réitérer la demande de permettre au Comte Las Cases de faire ses adieux à l'Empereur, et d'être, &c.

LE COMTE BERTRAND.

No. 63.

AU COMTE BERTRAND.

Monsieur le Comte, Plantation House, Janvier 28, 1817.

Dans une lettre que vous avez mise sous *enveloppe cachetée à Sir Thomas Reade*, adressée à Monsieur H. Bertrand, se trouve le passage suivant:—"Nous écrivons à Monsieur La Touche et à Lady Jerningham," &c. Comme ces lettres ne se trouvent pas sous la même enveloppe, je vous prie de me faire savoir si vous les avez expédiées par quelque autre canal, ou si c'est seulement votre intention de les envoyer? Je prends la liberté de vous faire cette demande, car dans la supposition que Monsieur H. Bertrand faisait connaître à Monsieur La Touche ou à Lady Jerningham le paragraphe de la lettre que j'ai cité de lui, ils pourraient être très-naturellement portés à croire que j'avais arrêté les lettres écrites à eux. Je dois en cette occasion, Monsieur le Comte, porter votre attention au règlement en ce qui regarde la forme d'expédier vos lettres. J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.,

H. LOWE, Lieutenant-Général.

No. 64.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe.

Sir, Downing Street, February 7, 1817.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 13th of December, stating the circumstances under which you had thought it necessary to arrest Count Las Cases and his son, and to take possession of his papers until further orders. I cannot but entirely approve your conduct in immediately arresting the Count upon the information which had been given to you of his attempt to carry on a clandestine correspondence; and as the disposition which the Count had uniformly evinced to violate the existing regulations, both with respect to correspondence and other less important particulars, gave a just ground for suspecting that his clandestine intercourse, though recently discovered, might have been for some time carrying on, I consider you equally justified in seizing all his papers, and examining their contents, with a view to ascertain the existence of such a correspondence, and, if existing, of its extent and objects. In returning to General Buonaparte, at his request and without inspection, all the papers connected with the history of his campaigns in Italy, and the official correspondence between him, Sir George Cockburn, and yourself, you have only anticipated the directions which I should otherwise have thought it my duty to convey to you. You have also, with great propriety, retained the Journal of the occurrences which have latterly befallen General Buonaparte, claimed, as that document appears to have been, equally by General Buonaparte and by Count Las Cases, without any admission from either of a conflicting or concurrent claim upon the part of the other; and difficult as it is to decide to whose assertion the greatest degree of credit is to be assigned, it only remains for me to say that you should on no account deliver it out of your possession until further instructions. If Count Las Cases should continue to express a wish to be removed from St. Helena, or if his conduct should in your opinion render his removal necessary on other grounds, you will consider yourself at liberty to apply to him the instruction conveyed to you in my despatch of the , in which you were directed to remove

to the Cape of Good Hope such of Buonaparte's followers as it might be necessary to send from St. Helena, in order to their proceeding from thence to their ultimate destination. The delicate state of his own, and more especially of his son's health, render it important for their comfort that this intimation should be early and distinctly given. For the same reason you will, before you effect his removal, take every precaution which the state of their health may require to prevent an aggravation of his disorder; and you will with this view, as far as possible, consult their convenience both as to the time and the means of their removal to the Cape. If, however, Count Las Cases, after such an intimation, should prefer a continuance in the personal service of General Buonaparte at St. Helena, you will, if no new objection presents itself, accede to an arrangement which I consider is likely to conduce materially to the comfort of General Buonaparte. You will in such case intimate to Count Las Cases, that, if this be his deliberate choice in the present instance, he must neither expect to be released from the obligation thus voluntarily imposed upon himself, upon any future change of opinion to which circumstances may give rise, nor to be in any degree exempted from those regulations and restrictions which are necessary for the security of General Buonaparte, and which his own conduct has shown the additional necessity of enforcing with increased attention.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

BATHURST.

No. 65.

To LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Sir, Colonial Office, London, February 7, 1817.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 45, enclosing a report bearing date the 10th of November, and submitted to you by Dr. O'Meara, on the state of General Buonaparte's health, and the probable effects of the General's continuing to adhere to the system upon which he has latterly acted. If Dr. O'Meara has succeeded in making General Buonaparte fully aware of the serious consequences which a perseverance in the habits of life recently adopted by

him cannot fail of producing, I trust there is no reason for entertaining a doubt of the re-establishment of General Buonaparte's health. But as the restraints to which the General has been subjected may be represented by him or his followers as having imposed upon him the necessity of adopting those habits of seclusion which have proved prejudicial to his health, I have thought it expedient to look back to the several despatches in order to ascertain in what manner the regulations now in force can be fairly considered as interfering with that exercise which a due regard to the preservation of General Buonaparte's health may require.

It appears that, on your first assumption of the government, the limits within which General Buonaparte and his suite were at liberty to ride unaccompanied by a British officer comprised, in addition to their present extent, the road to the left of Hutt's Gate, and along the woody ridge to Longwood. As, however, it was found that the General and his attendants evinced a disposition to communicate too freely and even to tamper with the inhabitants resident within the limits assigned to him, it was considered expedient to contract the limits in that quarter which contained a greater proportion of inhabitants than any other, and which (though he had not hitherto frequented it) was calculated to afford him still greater facilities for an objectionable intercourse. According to this statement there are still limits of eight miles in extent within which he may range free and unconstrained, and accompanied only by those of his suite whom he may from time to time select for his companions; for though you have properly required that no person should be introduced to him without your consent previously obtained, yet your directions do not allow his privacy to be broken in upon by the idle curiosity of any individual; and no person can present himself to General Buonaparte except by the General's own permission previously authenticated. It is necessary further to remark, that beyond these limits, and indeed over every part of the island, he has full liberty to go, provided he is attended by a British officer of rank; and no complaint has ever been made of the conduct of such officer, even if there had been any instance in which he had occasion to attend.

With respect to another of General Buonaparte's complaints,

viz. that the sentries around Longwood are now posted at dusk instead of nine o'clock, I have only to observe that the grounds upon which I directed this change in the original regulations were the apprehensions expressed in your despatch No. , lest the General should avail himself of the circumstance of being left without an adequate guard for three hours after dark in order to effect his escape. As I entirely acquiesced in the justice of your apprehension, I could have no difficulty in sanctioning the measure by which alone it could be removed; and it has given me much satisfaction to find from your subsequent despatch that you have been enabled altogether to conceal the sentries from his view, and that the arrangement cannot therefore in any degree interfere with the privacy of General Buonaparte, or with that degree of exercise which he might be inclined at those hours to take in the gardens of Longwood. If therefore the existing regulations debar the General from the use of salutary exercise, it should be recollected that he imposes upon himself restraints which do not necessarily grow out of the regulations themselves. Nevertheless, if it shall appear that his having the permission to go over the whole range of the enclosure, twelve miles in circumference, without the attendance of an officer, would reconcile him to a freer use of exercise in the air, it may be advisable for you to consider whether, if the state of his health shall really render that indulgence necessary, you cannot make such arrangements as may enable you to consult his feelings in this particular, although it does not appear that he has ever availed himself of the liberty when it was in his power to do so. But some allowance may reasonably be made for the caprice which ill health, sorrow, and disappointment are apt to excite even in minds under better discipline and of a happier disposition. There is not, however, any reason for extending this indulgence to his followers, except when in immediate attendance on him. I have only to add that, if the health of General Buonaparte should continue to decline, I am sure I can safely rely on your affording him all those attentions which sickness requires, and every indulgence which is not incompatible with the due discharge of the important trust reposed in you.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

BATHURST.

No. 66.

SPEECHES OF LORD HOLLAND AND LORD BATHURST IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, MARCH 18, 1817.

The order of the day having been read,

Lord HOLLAND said, in rising to call the attention of their Lordships to the motion of which he had given notice, he wished to be distinctly understood as to the motives which had induced him to bring it forward. Whilst he might in some degree be influenced by compassion and humanity towards the individual who had in so extraordinary a manner been exiled to the island of St. Helena, he must say that his chief, if not his only motive, was to rescue the character of Parliament and the country from that stain which would attach if any harsh or ungenerous treatment had been used towards Napoleon Bonaparte. He had no wish to enter again into the discussion of the justice or policy of the confinement of Bonaparte in the island of St. Helena; he was ready to admit that His Majesty's Ministers, in bringing forward the very extraordinary measure by which the sanction of Parliament was given to that confinement, had the public opinion along with them, and he was not now disposed again to question the measure. The grounds were known upon which he had opposed that measure; but he was not such a coxcomb as to imagine that the opinions he then expressed, and in which the two Houses of Parliament disagreed, would now have any weight. Leaving, therefore, all questions as to the justice or policy of the exile and confinement of Bonaparte at St. Helena out of the consideration, he merely looked to the personal treatment of that individual, with the view that the character of Parliament and the country might be relieved from the odium which must of course attach, in the public opinion not only of this country, but of Europe, to any unnecessary severity or harshness used towards Napoleon Bonaparte; with the view also that the character of Parliament and the country should stand right in the eyes of posterity, who would not fail to judge with severity of any acts of unnecessary harshness used towards an individual so exiled and imprisoned. As to any other motives that might be insinuated against him, if his character and conduct were not sufficient to shield him

from such imputations, certainly nothing he could say would have any effect for such a purpose. Trusting, however, that the character he had maintained, and the conduct he had evinced, would effectually shield him from such imputations, he felt himself fully authorized in treating such imputations with the utmost contempt. He had not been influenced upon the present occasion by any political hostility to His Majesty's Ministers; he looked to the character of the Government as well as that of Parliament and the country, and, in this view, was as solicitous that any stain with regard to harsh and ungenerous treatment of Bonaparte should be removed from the character of the Government as from that of Parliament and the country. The grounds upon which the measure was brought forward, which was to give powers to His Majesty's Government to imprison Bonaparte in the island of St. Helena, were, that it was required in order to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, and, through that, the safety of this country. Necessity was then the express ground for this extraordinary measure, and undoubtedly the Parliament in passing it never contemplated that any more severity was to be used than was actually required for the purposes of safety. It had been well said, upon another occasion, by the noble and learned Lord on the woolsack, that what necessity creates necessity limits; and, applying this to the case of Napoleon Bonaparte, he must say that no other restriction ought to be imposed than what was actually necessary for his safe custody. No other species of restriction was in the contemplation of Parliament when the Bill for the safe cusody of Bonaparte was passed, and it was for the express purpose of this safety that St. Helena was chosen. The choice of this spot was, in other respects, attended by considerable inconveniences, and he believed he might say that an expense altogether of from one to two hundred thousand pounds a year was by this choice entailed upon the country. This estimate might be exaggerated, but certainly the expense of the custody of Bonaparte was very considerably greater at St. Helena than it would have been in any other situation. If it were at all necessary, therefore, to impose harsh restrictions upon this individual, St. Helena must, after all, have been very ill chosen. He trusted, however, it would be satisfactorily shown that all the reports upon the subject of harsh treatment towards Bonaparte were utterly

unfounded, and he should greatly rejoice if that were the result. His object was, that an opportunity to prove the rumours which had been circulated upon this point to be totally unfounded should be distinctly afforded, or, if any part of them were true, that Parliament should interfere to correct the treatment. In bringing forward these motions he begged to disclaim the slightest intention of throwing any imputation whatever upon Sir Hudson Lowe, an officer whom he knew to possess many good qualities, and who, he was satisfied, would not exceed his instructions with regard to the treatment of his captive. From the part which he (Lord Holland) had taken in the discussion of the Bill regarding the custody of Napoleon Bonaparte, and his protest, which was recorded on the Journals, it was natural that complaints respecting the treatment of that individual should reach him sooner than they could the public in general; and from this cause he had received, during the last three or four months, several rumours respecting the conduct observed towards Bonaparte. These, however, coming, as they did, in an unauthenticated shape, he did not think worthy of attention. At length a statement had appeared, bearing *prima facie* the stamp of authority, and referring to documents which gave it the air of authenticity. He lamented the publication of the statements upon this subject, because he wished that they should not have been published until, by their being noticed in Parliament, the refutation could have been published along with the statements. These papers, however, having met with publicity, it became doubly imperative that some steps should be taken either to disprove the truth altogether of the allegations of fact contained in these statements, or, if there was any truth in them, to correct the treatment complained of. With respect to the allegations themselves, it was stated that additional restrictions had been imposed upon Bonaparte with regard to the space allowed him for exercise. St. Helena he believed to be, generally speaking, a very good climate, but it was nevertheless true, as he understood, that the upper part of it, where Bonaparte was confined, was of that species of climate which, from its dampness, was calculated to aggravate the evils of imprisonment. It was also stated that the hours at which exercise could be taken with the most comfort, and in a manner the most conducive to health, were those during which all

ingress and egress was interdicted to Longwood. This was a point which undoubtedly deserved inquiry, in order that the evils of imprisonment might not be needlessly aggravated. It was also alleged that Bonaparte was deprived of the means of subscribing to journals, or of procuring the books he wanted, and this he (Lord Holland) should have considered of itself sufficient to warrant a Parliamentary inquiry. He was utterly at a loss to imagine what reason could exist for refusing to Bonaparte the permission of obtaining such journals as he wanted, in order to afford him information respecting recent events, nor could he look upon such a restriction, if it existed, in any other light than as a needless aggravation of the calamities of the prisoner. Another topic of complaint was, that Bonaparte was not allowed to send a sealed letter to the Prince Regent, being informed that it must be sent open, that the contents might be seen. This involved a question of no small importance, particularly at the present moment, when the liberties of the people were placed at the disposal of His Majesty's Government. Was it to be endured that persons placed in confinement should not have the means of forwarding their complaints to their sovereign, or that, when possibly the subject-matter of that complaint might involve the conduct of the individual in whose custody they were placed, that individual should have the power of inspecting the contents of the letter, and thus, in consequence, the treatment of the prisoner might be rendered more harsh and vexatious? He knew of no law under which such an authority was derived. It might be said that the law never contemplated such an imprisonment as that to which Napoleon Bonaparte was sentenced, but he could not conceive that any general principle of law could be construed to prevent that individual from communicating his complaints in a sealed letter to the Prince Regent; nor could he conceive the existence of any principle to prevent the illustrious individual exercising the functions of sovereignty from using his own discretion as to whether he would receive a sealed letter or not. It might be said that there was an etiquette to be observed upon this point; but at any rate he thought, if there was such an etiquette, it ought to be confined to the Secretary of State, and that a sealed letter to the Prince Regent ought at any rate to be allowed to reach in that state the office of the Minister.

He was ready to admit that it was not fitting to allow an unrestrained correspondence to an individual placed in that state of imprisonment to which Bonaparte had been sentenced; but it was going much too far to say that he should not be allowed, in a sealed letter, to solicit the clemency of the Prince Regent, with a view to the mitigation of his situation, particularly when that illustrious individual was so humanely disposed to mercy and clemency. He could not but think, also, that much injustice was done to Bonaparte in not allowing him the means of writing an account of his former acts. Many prejudices had been excited against him, many crimes had been imputed to him, some justly and others unjustly; and surely it was but bare justice to allow him to speak for himself, to do away, if he could, the impressions against him; to appeal to posterity against the judgment of the present age. Not to allow him to do so was indeed a loss to the world, by depriving it of much valuable and important information. He now came to the financial part of the subject. It appeared by the statement of Count Montholon, to which he had alluded, that the sum of 20,000*l.* per annum, the amount originally fixed for the maintenance of Bonaparte, was to be reduced to 8000*l.* In arguing that this was unjust, it might be asked why he, who was for reducing as low as possible all the establishments of the country, should be only hostile to the reduction of the establishment of Bonaparte? To this he had to answer, that, were Bonaparte confined in any other place, he should think 8000*l.* per annum fully sufficient for his establishment; but St. Helena had been chosen as the place of his imprisonment because it combined the greatest means of safety, and it was attended with this disadvantage, that the expense of obtaining the common comforts and necessaries of life was enormously large. It was in this view that he objected to the reduction of the annual sum hitherto appropriated to the maintenance of Bonaparte, because undoubtedly he ought not to be deprived of the means of procuring those common comforts and necessaries, and it was in fact so doing to tell him that 8000*l.* only would be allowed, and he must find the other 12,000*l.* where he could. He wished most anxiously that these statements might be found to be mere fabrications, but it was impossible to shut their eyes to these allegations of fact. It was not merely the public opinion

of the present day, perhaps prejudiced or warped, to which they were to look, but to the judgment of posterity, unbiassed by any of those motives which now operated to obscure the judgment. The judgment of posterity, it was well known, was in many instances decidedly at variance with the opinions of those amongst whom the circumstances to which it related occurred. Take, for instance, the case of Mary Queen of Scots: nobody now doubted of her guilt, but every one must regret that the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth should be deeply stained by the harsh and ungenerous treatment of her rival. The allegations of fact which he had stated were of that importance that undoubtedly deserved the serious attention of their Lordships (and he could not but observe, with regard to St. Helena, that before Bonaparte quitted Elba the sending him to St. Helena was talked of at the Congress of Vienna). The statements were of too much importance, as involving the character of the Government, the Parliament, and the country, not to excite attention. He thought it especially incumbent upon the House to take steps either to disprove these statements, or to correct the evil; and as the noble Earl at the head of the Treasury was fond of precedents, he would mention one in point. When the late Mr. Pitt, either in 1798 or 1799, found that the most calumnious statements were circulated in France with regard to the treatment of the French prisoners in this country, that Minister himself moved for a Committee to inquire into the subject, before whom he laid all the documents relating to it; the result was the complete and triumphant disproval of all those calumnious statements, by which they were totally put down. In this case, in like manner, he called upon their Lordships to disprove to the world the statements that had been put forth respecting the harsh and ungenerous treatment of Napoleon, and, should his motion have the effect of producing in the result of the inquiry facts which would utterly disprove the allegations of fact that had been published, he should most sincerely rejoice in it. All that he was anxious for was that such an opportunity should be distinctly afforded, and that it should be clearly proved that no stain whatever rested upon the country with regard to the treatment of this individual. He did not mean to assert the truth of the statements to which he had referred; of their truth he knew

nothing; but they had been put forth in a plausible shape, and with the appearance of authentic evidence to support them; and he thought it was mainly incumbent upon the House either to disprove their truth, or, if any part of them were true, to take care that the treatment of this individual should be corrected, and rendered what in common fairness and justice it ought to be. Lord Holland concluded by moving for an Address to the Prince Regent, praying the communication of copies of instructions issued to the Governor or Governors of St. Helena respecting the personal treatment of Napoleon Bonaparte; extracts of communications from the Governor or Governors of St. Helena respecting the expense of the maintenance of Napoleon Bonaparte and his attendants; extracts of ditto respecting the personal treatment of Bonaparte; communications from ditto respecting any application of Bonaparte to send a letter to the Prince Regent; and communications from ditto respecting any application from Bonaparte for religious instruction for the children of persons accompanying or attending upon him. The last-mentioned documents, he said, he moved for in consequence of a rumour that there was no person on the island of the religious persuasion of these individuals to communicate religious instruction to the children of some of those who accompanied Bonaparte, and which religious instruction had been, it was said, applied for.

Earl BATHURST rose and said, that in part he agreed with the noble mover's observation, that an opinion respecting the justice or injustice of the detention of Napoleon Bonaparte should have no effect on the discussion of the present question. He had no hesitation in agreeing with the noble Lord, that those who considered the detention of Napoleon Bonaparte not only necessary, but just, might object to the mode of that detention; but, on the other hand, he doubted whether those who objected to that detention altogether could with a proper degree of impartiality consider the propriety of the mode of detention. The noble Lord had recorded on the Journals his protest against the detention of this individual, as being contrary to the principles of justice and humanity. Holding such an opinion, it was hardly to be conceived that the noble mover could discuss with a due degree of impartiality the restrictions imposed upon this prisoner, while he conceived restrictions of

what kind soever to be inhumane and unjustifiable. The noble mover had laid the foundation of his motion partly on a paper written by order of Napoleon, and signed "Count Montholon," and partly on rumours which had reached him from other quarters. It was not his (Earl B.'s) intention to reply to these rumours, any more than to a paper signed by a man named Santini, to which no credit whatever was due. It was creditable to the noble Lord that he had not made that paper the foundation of his remarks, for no one looking at it for a moment could fail to perceive that it was full of the grossest misrepresentations. He (Earl B.) should therefore look upon that publication as disavowed, and thus totally unworthy of attention, and should confine his remarks to that paper which certainly was authentic, and which was signed by the Count de Montholon. He should first show to their Lordships what the instructions to Sir Hudson Lowe were, and he should then show that all the complaints contained in that paper, written by order of Napoleon Bonaparte, either arose out of the due execution of those instructions, or were misrepresentations of facts, or were direct and absolute falsehoods. In the first place, as to the instructions to Sir Hudson Lowe, their Lordships had been long in possession of these instructions, for, when Admiral Cockburn went out to St. Helena, instructions were given him which would apply to him while he remained there, and which would also apply to his successor after his departure. These instructions had been published on the Continent, whence they had found their way to the papers in this country. That authentic copy had been long before their Lordships, and it was the general opinion they contained nothing improper, considering the end for which they were drawn up. Those instructions considered Napoleon as a prisoner of war, and consequently laid down this general rule, that all restrictions should be imposed which were necessary to secure detention, but that no restrictions should be imposed which were not necessary to that detention. This principle, he was prepared to show, had actuated all the instructions from his Majesty's Government, and all the steps which Sir Hudson Lowe had taken in pursuance of those instructions. Up to this moment he was prepared also to state there had been no substantive alteration of those instructions. All the communications from

the Government to St. Helena had been rather in the way of explanation than instructions, and whatever changes had taken place, either in the explanation of the instructions, or the execution of them, were to the benefit of the person who was the subject of them. He should classify the complaints made respecting the treatment of the individual, and should then read what parts of the instruction applied to the several heads of those complaints. The complaints which had been made might be reduced under two heads—1st. Restrictions as to the communication of the prisoner with others, either in writing or personally; and 2nd, those complaints which apply to the personal treatment of the individual himself. In the first place, as to communications with others by writing, the noble mover had stated that there was an utter impossibility of his communicating with his wife and child or relations. Now he (Earl B.) should read the part of the instructions which referred to all communication in writing with the individual in question. The instructions were these:—

"All letters addressed to the General, or to persons in his suite, must be delivered to the Admiral or the Governor (as the case may be), who will read them before they are delivered to those to whom they are addressed.

"Letters written by the General or his suite are subject to the same rule.

"No letter that comes to St. Helena, except through the Secretary of State, must be communicated to the General or his attendants, if it be written by a person not residing on the island; and all letters addressed to persons not living on the island must go under cover to the Secretary of State.

"It will be clearly expressed to the General that the Governor and Admiral are strictly commanded to inform his Majesty's Government of all the wishes and representations which the General may desire to address to it. In this respect they need not use any precaution; but the paper in which such request or representation is written must be communicated to them open, that they may read it, and accompany it with such observations as they may think necessary."

Thus, then, when Napoleon Bonaparte represented that it was impossible for him to write to those to whom he wished to write, it was not true. If he meant to say that he could not

write without those letters being opened, that was merely in conformity to the instructions which had been delivered to the Governor. But he had no right to represent that as an absolute prohibition, which was only optional. The next complaint was, that he had not received letters from his relations and friends in Europe, and that it was impossible for him to receive them. This was not true—it was not impossible for any of his relations and friends to communicate with him, if they chose to send their letters to the Secretary of State, where they would be opened, and afterwards undoubtedly would be forwarded to him. But there was one preliminary to his receiving letters from his friends, which was, that his friends should write to him, and the fact was, that only one of his relations had written to him, namely, his brother Joseph, whose letter reached the office in October last, where it was opened and immediately forwarded to him. Another complaint of the same nature was, that he was not permitted to send a sealed letter to the Prince Regent. Of course Sir Hudson Lowe, if any application had been made to him, would have obeyed the instructions which had been read to their Lordships; but, in point of fact, no application had been made to Sir Hudson Lowe on that subject. An application had indeed been made to Sir G. Cockburn, he believed from Count Bertrand, to know whether, if a letter were written by the Emperor to the Prince Regent, he would undertake to deliver it without suffering it to be opened by any person. Sir G. Cockburn, of course, could give no such assurance, but all that he could do was to communicate the substance of his instructions respecting letters written by General Bonaparte, and then leave him to his judgment how he might act. Since that time no further application of that nature had been received. In directing that any complaints against the conduct of the Governor toward General Bonaparte, sent to the Government in this country, should be left open, there was not any discretion remaining with the Governor whether he would or not transmit them; but at the same time he was allowed to enter into an explanation of the allegations contained in the letter. The object of this regulation was, on the one hand, to protect the Governor against frivolous charges, and on the other hand, if any grave charge could be adduced, to insure relief sooner than would otherwise be possible, be-

cause it would not be necessary to send back to St. Helena to inquire into the truth of it, before steps could be taken to remove the inconvenience complained of. It was in that sense that this part of the instructions had been taken by General Bonaparte, as might be inferred from a letter of Sir G. Cockburn to him, of which he should read a passage. The passage ran to this effect:—"I have no hesitation in agreeing with you that the spirit which influenced his Majesty's Government in this part of their instructions was the desire of speedily remedying any inconvenience you might have to complain of; but though the spirit is favourable to you, they do not lose sight of the circumstance that it is due in justice to me and my successors to prevent any complaint against us from being known in Europe for six months, without being accompanied by any observation from us." Now it was clear, that, as the Governor was bound to send every charge against him to Europe, General Bonaparte had no reason whatever to complain. As to the sealed letters to the Prince Regent, he could only say that, if Sir G. Cockburn or Sir Hudson Lowe had thought fit to allow any such letters to come to Europe sealed up, he (Earl B.) should have felt it to be his duty to open them. He agreed with the noble mover, that, if he had prevented any such letters from reaching his Royal Highness, he should have been guilty of a base and unwarrantable breach of duty; but at the same time, in this country, where the Ministers were responsible for the acts of the Sovereign, he did not know how he could discharge his duty if he did not make himself acquainted with the nature of such communications. The next complaint of General Bonaparte was, that when he had requested to have some books from Europe, those which referred to modern times had been kept back. The fact was this: soon after his arrival at St. Helena he expressed a wish for some books to complete his library, and a list was made out by General Bonaparte himself, and transmitted to this country. This list was sent to an eminent French bookseller in this town, with orders to supply such of the books as he had, and to obtain the rest from other booksellers. As several of the books were not to be obtained in London, the bookseller was desired to write to Paris for them. He accordingly obtained some of them from Paris, but others of them

could not be obtained; those which could not be procured were principally on military subjects. These books, to the amount of 1300*l.* or 1400*l.* worth (which the Memorial called a few hooks), were sent, with an explanation of the circumstances which prevented the others from having been sent. This anxiety to attend to the wishes of the individual in question was not at all taken in the paper he had referred to as an excuse for the omission. A complaint connected with this was, that newspapers had been withheld. As to this he should say that, if the noble mover thought that General Bonaparte should be furnished with all the journals he required, he (Earl B.) had a different sense of the course which it was proper for him to pursue. And this opinion was grounded on the knowledge that attempts had been made, through the medium of newspapers, to hold communication with Napoleon. The next complaint was, that he was not allowed to open a correspondence with a bookseller. Now this was not true, unless it meant that that correspondence could not be carried on under sealed letters; for there was no reason for preventing that correspondence, unless it was carried on in that particular manner. It was also said that he could not correspond even with his banker or agent. Now it was, in point of fact, open to him to enter upon any such correspondence under the restrictions he had mentioned; and there was no reason why a letter to a banker should be sent sealed up. He did not deny that on a correspondence between friends the necessity of sending letters open was a most severe restriction, because it was impossible to consign to paper the warm effusions of the heart under the consciousness that it would be subject to the cold eye of an inspector. But this did not apply to a correspondence with a banker. Who had ever heard of an affectionate draft upon a banking-house, or an enthusiastic order for the sale of stock? He now came to the most important point of charge, which was, that the letters sent by General Bonaparte, or persons of his suite, were read by subaltern officers. This was not true. Sir Hudson Lowe had exercised the trust reposed in him with the utmost delicacy; and when any letters were transmitted through his hands had never permitted any individual, however confidential, to see them, whether they were addressed to individuals at home or at St.

Helena. It was difficult to know on what general charges were founded, but the following occurrence was the only one which he could conceive to have any reference to it: when Napoleon and his suite were first sent out to St. Helena, from the haste in which the ships sailed, they were left in want of many necessaries, such as linen and other articles of that kind. It was judged that great inconvenience might be felt if they were obliged to wait till they could send to this country for them, and accordingly a considerable quantity of such articles were sent out in anticipation of their wants. It so happened that about the time when these articles arrived Las Cases wrote a letter to Europe, which of course came under the inspection of Sir Hudson Lowe, who found that it contained an order for some of those very articles which had been sent out. Sir Hudson Lowe then wrote to Las Cases to inform him that he had those articles which he had ordered, and which were much at his service, and observed that it would not perhaps be necessary to send the letter, or that he might now omit that order. Las Cases returned an answer full of reproaches to Sir Hudson Lowe, for his presumption in reading a letter directed to a lady, and for offering him articles out of a common stock, when he knew that he had been solely supported by the Emperor. Thus was Sir Hudson Lowe treated, and such was the only foundation for this part of the charge. The next complaint was in these words:—

"Letters have arrived at St. Helena for officers in the suite of the Emperor—they were broken open and transmitted to you, but you have not communicated them, because they did not come through the channel of the English Ministry. They had thus to go back 4000 leagues, and these officers had the grief of knowing that there was intelligence on the rock from their wives, their mothers, their children, and that they could not know the nature of it for six months. The heart revolts at this."

Now this was a direct falsehood, for which there was not the smallest foundation. Sir Hudson Lowe, on seeing this passage in the Memorial, wrote to Montholon, saying there was no foundation for this charge, and calling on him to give instances. No instances had been given, no answer had been returned, and the reason was this, that the assertion was absolutely false. Indeed, in the voluminous papers which had been transmitted

from St. Helena, nothing was more painfully disgusting than the utter indifference to truth shown throughout. Having said thus much as to the restriction on communication by letter with General Bonaparte, he would proceed to the complaints of restraints on his personal intercourse with others. He should read the part of the instructions which referred to this subject, and which had been a year and a half before the country, and to which no objection had ever been made. The words were these:—

"When ships arrive, and as long as they are in sight, the General must remain confined within the boundary, where sentinels are placed. During this interval all intercourse with the inhabitants is forbidden." Such was the letter of the instruction, but the execution of it had been very liberal. Persons who arrived at the island were, on procuring a pass from the Governor or Admiral, permitted to go up to Longwood; but to prevent the privacy of the General from being broken in upon by the curiosity of individuals, they were prevented from going to Longwood, unless they obtained the previous consent of Count Bertrand, or some of the individuals near his person. The complaint that all intercourse with the inhabitants was prevented was untrue. It was true that the inhabitants could not approach him without a pass, but there was no instance in which a pass had been refused, or that any had been prevented from going to him but those who had been detected in attempting to approach him in disguise or in false characters. It had been also said that he had been prevented from having any intercourse with the officers of the garrison. There was no foundation for this. He had on one occasion entered into conversation with an officer of the 53rd Regiment, in which he bestowed high praises upon that regiment and its officers (none of which could be too high for their deserts), and then expressed a regret that all intercourse with them was interdicted him. The officer assured him that no such interdiction existed, at which he expressed some surprise, but since that time he had not more frequent communication with them than he had previously, when he supposed the prohibition which he so much lamented to have existed.

He had thus answered the complaints of restrictions of the communication of Bonaparte with individuals, either by letter or personally, and he should next advert to the charges re-

specting his personal treatment. The instructions on this subject were these:—"The General must always be attended by an officer appointed by the Admiral or the Governor, as the case may be. If the General is allowed to go beyond the boundary where the sentinels are placed, he must be accompanied by one orderly-man at least." Now the practice had been, that during the first period of his confinement he had a circumference of no less than twelve miles, in which he might ride or walk without the attendance of any officer; and that range was not reduced till it had been found that he had abused that confidence reposed in him by tampering with the inhabitants. That range was now reduced to eight miles instead of twelve, and within that boundary he might at present walk without the attendance of any officer. Beyond those limits he might go over any part of the island, attended by an officer of rank not lower than a captain in the army. On this ground, therefore, it could not be objected that there was an unreasonable degree of restraint. The next complaint which the noble mover had urged was, that General Bonaparte could not move out of his house at the only time when exercise was healthy in that climate. Now the fact was, that though he had not free passage through the island after sunset, he might at any hours walk in the garden. Sentinels were stationed there after sunset, and he had expressed his dislike to walk when he was thus watched. Sir H. Lowe, with every desire to attend to his wishes, after that fixed the sentinels in places where they would not look on him. Would their Lordships wish these sentinels to be removed altogether just at the time when it was most likely that he should escape? Let them suppose for a moment, that instead of debating on the motion of the noble Lord, that intelligence was brought them by Sir Hudson Lowe that General Bonaparte had actually escaped. Let them suppose that, instead of sitting to discuss whether a little more or little less restriction should be imposed, that they had thus to examine Sir Hudson Lowe at their bar:—How and when did he escape?—In the early part of the evening, and from his garden. Had his garden no sentinels?—The sentinels were removed. Why were they removed?—General Bonaparte desired it—they were hurtful to his feelings; they were then removed, and thus was he enabled to escape. What would their Lordships think of

such an answer? He begged them to consider the situation of Sir Hudson Lowe—in what a painful and invidious station he was placed. If General Bonaparte escaped, the character and fortune of Sir Hudson Lowe were ruined for ever; and if no attempts were made to effect that escape, there would not be wanting some, from false motives of compassion, to reproach him for those restrictions which had probably prevented those attempts from being made. It was now said in the Memorial, that the residence pitched upon for General Bonaparte was unpleasant and unwholesome. He could only say that his was not the general account of that place. It had formerly been the house of the Lieutenant-Governor, and it was not the custom for Lieutenant-Governors to choose the most unpleasant and unwholesome spots. Neither had this been the former opinion of General Bonaparte himself. When the General had first been sent there, it was left to the discretion of Sir G. Cockburn to fix on a residence for him, with only one exception, namely, the house of the Governor. That choice was to be directed by a view to the safe custody, and, as far as was consistent with that, by the consideration due to his comfort. Soon after his landing, General Bonaparte rode out with Sir George Cockburn till he reached Longwood, with which, at first sight, he was so much captivated, that he wished to remain there, and not to go back to the town. He was told that it would be impossible so soon to remove the Lieutenant-Governor's family. He then wished a tent to be erected, which it was also represented would much incommode the Lieutenant-Governor, but he was assured that the occupants should be removed as soon as possible. As they returned, they came to a house prettily situated, which belonged to Mr. Balcombe, near which a detached room had been built. General Bonaparte expressed a wish to occupy that room, and, after Sir G. Cockburn had in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from it, he took up his abode there for the time. It was but two days after, however, that his attendants complained of this harsh usage, as they termed it, in placing the Emperor in a single room. This was the manner in which the compliance of Sir G. Cockburn was received. So many alterations were made at Longwood, that General Bonaparte remained in that room three months. Constant improvements or alterations were made at Longwood on

account of himself or his suite, which delayed his removal; for the fact was, that he was unwilling to remove from Mr. Balcombe's, on account of the facility of communication with the town. During his residence there he was circumscribed to a small garden, beyond which he never moved without a guard; he did not, however, at that time, make any complaint, but he now, for the first time, complained of restrictions on his liberty when he was allowed to range within a circuit of eight miles, if he pleased, unattended. When the prisoners were first sent to St. Helena, orders were given to send out a frame for the purpose of constructing a house for General Bonaparte. When the materials arrived, Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to the General, whether he would like to have a new house erected or additions made to the old one. He received no answer, but in two or three weeks he went to the General to endeavour to obtain a decision from him. The General answered that he should prefer a new house, but that it would take five or six years to build, while he knew that in two or three years either the Administration in this country would be overturned or a change would take place in the Government of France, and in either case he should be released. As this was all the answer Sir Hudson Lowe could get, he proceeded to make alterations in the present house. General Bonaparte then objected to this, though it was done for the purpose of lodging his attendants. He (Earl B.) did not object to General Bonaparte's choice either of the new house or the old one, or between alterations and no alterations, but he objected to this—that he made every attempt to make his residence convenient the foundation of a charge against the Governor, and that he watched the moment when an attention was paid to his wishes to make that attention a source of complaint. He should now advert to the subject of the expense bestowed on the maintenance of this individual, but he should previously mention the rumour that St. Helena had been mentioned at the Congress of Vienna as a place to which Bonaparte might be removed from Elba. It was one of those rumours, whether received from foreigners or Englishmen, in which he could assure the noble Lord he was quite mistaken. There was no mention at the Congress of such a proposition. As to the expense of the establishment of General Bonaparte at St. Helena, it had been at first, from the

want of arrangements for regular supplies, unavoidably great; but it had always been in contemplation when those arrangements were made that the expenditure should be considerably reduced. The permanent expense of the establishment of Bonaparte had from the first been fixed at 8000*l.* a-year, though it was of course contemplated that the first year would much exceed that expense. In fixing that allowance, the Government had been somewhat guided by the expenses which the Governor of the island had been found to have incurred. That Governor was paid by the India Company; his salary was 1800*l.* a-year, and his table expenses were paid, as he was bound to receive and entertain all the passengers in the Company's ships touching at the island. Those table expenses had been found on an average of years to be 4700*l.* a-year, in all 6500*l.*, which was regarded as a fair criterion of the expense of supporting an establishment on that island. As General Bonaparte was not subject to those expenses which the Governor had been obliged to incur, 8000*l.* a-year was deemed a fair allowance; that estimate, it was to be remembered, had been given in to the other House of Parliament as the probable expense of that establishment, and the instructions of Sir Hudson Lowe on this subject were founded on it. This sum was considered sufficient to provide General Bonaparte with all that could be considered as suitable for a person in his situation. Instructions were, however, transmitted to the Governor, informing him, if it required more for the support of General Bonaparte than what had been considered sufficient for that purpose, if he thought any additional luxury necessary, beyond what could be provided for the sum fixed in this country, his Majesty's Ministers were inclined to allow it. Sir Hudson Lowe, in answer, said he thought the establishment of General Bonaparte could not be suitably provided for under 12,000*l.* a-year. An intimation was immediately given that the sum of 12,000*l.* was agreed to by his Majesty's Ministers. If their Lordships considered this too small a sum for the expenses of General Bonaparte, he only wished them to recollect that Sir Hudson Lowe himself was only allowed 12,000*l.* for all his expenses, of whatever nature they might be. A fortnight after the receipt of the letter from this country, General Bonaparte entered into a negotiation with Sir Hudson Lowe, in which he

undertook to furnish the whole of his expenditure, amounting to 17,000*l.* or 18,000*l.*, himself, if he had permission to correspond with any banker, provided the letters were allowed to be sealed, and provided all the money so received should be wholly at his disposal; and so confident was he that he had this money at his command, that he offered at once to draw for it, and he assured Sir Hudson Lowe that he might advance the money with safety, because he had no doubt that his draft would be accepted. In stating this, he did not mean to say that, because General Bonaparte possessed funds, and even large funds, that therefore the Government of this country ought to make him pay for the expenses of his establishment out of these funds; but he said this, that, having given him so high an allowance as 12,000*l.* a-year, such an allowance as they gave to their own Governor, who was exposed to great expenses, and who had to receive the visits of the inhabitants, and of the Commissioners of the Allied Powers, surely, if this sum was sufficient for the Governor, it was sufficient for General Bonaparte; and if he wished for more than this, it ought to come out of the funds, and large funds, at his own disposal. There was one other point which he should notice, as it related to a statement in a publication formerly mentioned by him—that one bottle of wine a-day only was allowed for each person, and that, if this allowance was drunk by any of the individuals on the establishment, he could get no more. In order to ascertain the expenditure of any establishment, it was usual to calculate on a certain quantity of such things as were used for each individual per day. It was by no means intended that the same quantity should always be drunk by each individual. With respect to the calculation of one bottle per day for each person, it was one which would be considered in this country as not an unfair one—this was the allowance for his Majesty's table. A bottle a-day for each person was considered by military gentlemen as sufficient for the supply of their messes—sufficient for themselves and for such company as might be invited to their mess; it was not usual to allow more one day with another to any person in the prime of life. But to show how liberally the allowance to General Bonaparte was calculated, he should read to their Lordships an extract from the estimate for his table, in which this very article of wine was minutely specified.

There was an allowance of strong and of weak wine. The quantity of weak wine was 84 bottles in the course of the fortnight; but he should put that out of the question, and merely state the quantity of the other description of wine. Of that better sort of wine there was no less than 266 bottles in one fortnight, applicable, wholly and entirely, to General Bonaparte and his attendants. The particulars were—

7 bottles of Constantia (or 14 pint bottles).
14 bottles of Champagne.
21 bottles of Vin de Grave.
84 bottles of Teneriffe.
140 bottles of Claret.

In all 266 bottles.

The number of persons connected with General Bonaparte, excluding those of tender age, amounted to nine, so that there was an allowance of nineteen bottles in one day for ten persons; and taking one day with another, the allowance might be considered two bottles a-day for each grown person. In addition to this quantity of wine, 42 bottles of porter were allowed every fortnight, being at the rate of three to each individual. Having stated so much, he trusted he had convinced their Lordships that there was not any ground whatever for apprehending that they were acting towards General Bonaparte with anything like severity. Those persons who were placed under his control had behaved in the most insolent manner towards the Governor; and if their Lordships were willing to lend an ear to every complaint proceeding from them, there would be no end to their complaining. With respect to the Governor, he could not support his authority unless he endeavoured to enforce obedience to all the dispositions which he was by his instructions appointed to make. If they thought that Bonaparte ought not to be detained at St. Helena, then dismiss him; but if they thought that he ought to be detained, it would be unjust to throw such a heavy responsibility on the Governor, and at the same time prevent him from enforcing such measures as the secure detention of his prisoner demanded from him. The noble Earl concluded by expressing his decided opposition to the motion.

After a short debate, in which the Marquis of Buckingham and the Earl of Darnley took part, the motion was put and negatived without a division.

No. 67.

TRANSLATION OF THE OBSERVATIONS DICTATED BY NAPOLEON ON LORD BATHURST'S SPEECH, WITH SIR HUDSON LOWE'S NOTES ON THEM.

> "That the noble mover could not discuss with a due degree of impartiality the restrictions imposed upon this prisoner, while he conceived restrictions of what kind soever to be inhuman and unjustifiable." (1.)—*Extract from the Speech.*

1. The Bill of the Parliament of England of the 11th April, 1816, is neither a law nor a judgment. A law determines only on general objects. The characteristics of a judgment are, the competency of the tribunal, information, hearing of witnesses, confrontation, and argument. This Bill is an act of proscription, similar to those of Sylla and of Marius; as *necessary*, as *just*, but more *barbarous!* Sylla and Marius, as Consuls or Dictators of the Republic, had an unquestionable jurisdiction over the Romans. Neither the King of England nor his people had or have any over Napoleon: they are 15,000,000 of men oppressing one man in time of peace, because he directed and commanded armies against them in time of war. But Sylla and Marius signed those acts of proscription with the still ensanguined point of the sword, amidst the tumults and the violence of camps. The Bill of the 11th of April was signed in a time of peace, with the sceptre of a great people, in the sanctuary of the law. How will the members of the English Parliament dare henceforward to blame those who proscribed Charles I. and Louis XVI.? Those princes perished at least by a death which was prompt, and without agony!

This Bill declares, 1st, That Napoleon shall be treated as if he were a prisoner of war;—2ndly, That the English Government shall have the right of making all the restrictions which it shall judge necessary. By the former stipulation that prince has been placed under the protection of the law of nations, which, being founded on the principle of reciprocity, is not a

guarantee in time of peace; the latter stipulation destroys even the semblance of the guarantee which might appear to have been intended by the former. The English Bill, after violating everything in order to seize the person of this prince, at that time the illustrious guest of England, immediately and precipitately delivers him up to all the fury of his personal enemies, who are animated by the basest passions. A legislative senate which abandons an individual to arbitrary power, were he even the lowest of the human species, is wanting to itself, and misunderstands its sacred character.

It was asked, what need had Ministers to be invested with the right of making restrictions, since the law of nations was to be their rule? One of them answered, that it was in order that they might feel authorised in ordaining a more liberal treatment than was customary towards prisoners of war. Observers were not thus misled; they foresaw the secret views of the cabinet; they were grieved for the honour of their nation; results have justified, and daily continue to justify, their conjectures. This great man is dying upon a rock; he is dying a death sufficiently slow to be apparently natural: an excess of cruelty hitherto unknown among nations. This Bill is more barbarous than if, like those of Sylla, it had caused to be severed, at one blow, the head of this high enemy!

The right of making restrictions has been conferred by the Bill on the Government, and the latter cannot delegate it. The restrictions ought to be invested with the forms of an act of Government, passed in council, and signed by the Prince. A single minister, therefore, cannot exercise it; yet thus it is that the four restrictions have been adopted and published which were printed at the time. They have been communicated at St. Helena only partially and verbally; some articles in writing, extracted from the correspondence of the Minister, and as a simple act of his administration.

These restrictions are,—

1. The detention at St. Helena.
2. The name imposed of General Bonaparte.
3. The prohibition from going abroad, upon the rock of St. Helena, otherwise than accompanied by an officer.
4. The obligation, first, of writing none but open letters to

be transmitted to the officer appointed to guard St. Helena; and, secondly, of receiving none but opened letters which have passed under the eye of the Minister.

These four restrictions are contrary to the law of nations. It was not therefore for the sake of ameliorating the lot of the detained persons that Ministers caused themselves to be invested with the right of making restrictions. No instance will be cited in the history of Great Britain or of France in which prisoners of war were sent away to be in a state of detention in another hemisphere, and on an isolated rock in the midst of the seas. If the security of the detention had been the only object in view, there was no want of castles or of houses in England; but it was the devouring climate of the tropic which was required!

Nor has the second restriction any relation to the security of the detention; it has the effect of aggravating the condition of this prince. Prisoners of war, when they fall into the power of the enemy, are legitimated by the title which they bore at home. But the Bourbons ceased not to reign in France; the Republic and the fourth Dynasty were not legitimate governments. On what are these new principles founded? If the English Government acknowledge that the Bourbons reigned in France at the time of the peace of Amiens, in 1802, they acknowledge that Cardinal York reigned in England at the treaty of Paris, in 1783; that Charles XIII. does not reign in Sweden. To sanction these principles is to throw all thrones into disorder; it is to propagate the germs of revolution among all nations.

It was well known that the Emperor ought not, could not, and never would avail himself of the condition contained in the third restriction. Therefore it was calculated that he would not go out of an unwholesome dwelling. What relation could this restriction have to the security of the detention, on a precipitous rock, 600 leagues from any continent, around which several brigs are cruising, where there is only a single anchorage, and the circumference of which may moreover be guarded by ten or twelve posts of infantry.

It was equally well known that, in order not to submit to the humiliation prescribed in the fourth restriction, he would not

receive or write any letter. The correspondence between this remote island and Europe may take place at most twice a year; eight or nine months must elapse before an answer arrives; how can a correspondence of this kind have any influence on the security of the detention, or on the tranquillity of Europe? But it takes away all moral consolation. It is to the soul what this frightful climate is to the body. The end in view is approached by two ways at once!!

The officer commanding at St. Helena could be charged only with the guard and with the execution of the restrictions: but this is not the case; he alone makes, unmakes, and remakes all the regulations and the restrictions according to his own fancy, precipitately, and in forms illegal and obscure. No limits have been prescribed to the discretion, no resource against the passion, the caprice, and the folly of a single man. There is no council, no magistrate, no lawyer, no public opinion on this rock.

Does the Minister then believe it to be impossible that an officer appointed to guard St. Helena will be guilty of abuse? But when he chooses him *ad hoc* from among men of a character which was ascertained from preceding missions, is it not probable that he will commit abuse? And when he tells him, "*if the detained person escape, your honour and your fortune are lost,*" [1] is not this as much as telling him to commit abuse? Is it not interesting him in it by all that is dearest to man? A jailer in Europe cannot impose restrictions, even upon criminals, according to the measure of his alarm, his caprice, or his passion; he refers these points to magistrates of the administrative or judiciary order, who determine upon them, and protect his responsibility; if such were not the case, there would be no dungeons safe enough in the eyes of the man responsible

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Sir Hudson Lowe's Notes.—These notes were written in February, 1819, and transmitted to Earl Bathurst.

[1.] "No such expression was ever used to Sir Hudson Lowe, nor imputed by him to the Minister who may have been supposed to have uttered it. It is the style of language which Napoleon Bonaparte (who in these observations appears disposed on all occasions to lend his own principles of action to others) may have been supposed to employ; but no British officer would require an incentive of such nature for the due performance of his duty.—H. L."

for the detention. For, after all, prisoners shut up in towers, fettered and manacled, have found means to escape. In whatever situation living men are placed, they have always certain chances, more or less numerous, of regaining their liberty. Do you seek for a place in which to enclose a man, without any chance of freeing himself, without even a single chance in a thousand, you will find only one—a coffin!

If the problem be proposed of contriving a set of instructions to give to the officer charged with the guard of St. Helena, so that the detained persons may be exposed to every kind of vexation and caprice which may satisfy the most implacable hatred, without obliging it to unmask itself and display its odious countenance? After a man has been chosen whose character and opinions are well known, he will be told, "You are to take all necessary measures to ensure the detention; there will be no magistrate on the spot to receive complaints that may be made against you, nor can any arrive but through your channel, and in open letters, to a Minister at the distance of 2000 leagues; yourself alone, both judge and party, will prepare the information; that information will be secret; but, at the same time, if the detained person escape, your honour and your fortune are lost." The problem will have been solved, but certainly by an abandonment of all idea of justice and of every humane feeling; by destroying the Bill, or, at least, its literal and public sense. The savages who believe they have a right to devour their prisoners would disclaim this excess of cruelty!

When the purpose has been to conceal the ultimate object for which St. Helena was chosen, it has been said, such choice was made *in order that the prisoners might enjoy more liberty*. But by the restrictions made, the instructions given, and the man chosen, it is shown that the wish was to prevent the cries of agony from reaching the Prince and the people of England. There was a dread of the indignation of generous hearts, and of men of worth, who have still some influence on the opinion of European nations.

Lord Bathurst in this speech declares two things: 1st, that Sir Hudson Lowe used only executive measures; 2nd, that all the communications of Government to St. Helena have been to the advantage of the persons detained. These two assertions are equally erroneous: see the document marked A, which

contains eight or nine new restrictions, [2] that would be considered vexatious and degrading at Botany Bay. Some articles only of the Minister's correspondence are here known. A letter, [3] communicated in October, by the Colonel of the Commandant's staff, was full of improper expressions. Orders were given for instantly taking three of the twelve domestics who had followed Napoleon to St. Helena, and for sending them to the Cape of Good Hope. This letter cannot here be annexed, because it was not left, and a copy of it was refused; there was an apprehension that it might one day be published. But, in consequence, the *chef d'escadron*, Piontkowsky, and three domestics were sent to the Cape. It was insinuated [4] that all the French domestics would successively share the same lot, and that there would be none in attendance on the Emperor but those chosen by the commandant of St. Helena. It will not be said that those domestics had given cause of complaint, for they were not designated by name. They were made to perform a voyage of 1200 leagues to go to the Cape, and 600 to return to St. Helena; that is to say, a passage equal to that from St.

[2.] "These regulations were drawn out on an application from Count Bertrand, in his own name and that of the officers who accompanied Napoleon Bonaparte to St. Helena, to know the precise rules to which they were to be subject on signing a declaration to remain at St. Helena. This declaration expressed they were to be subject to the same personal restrictions as Napoleon Bonaparte himself. The regulations were drawn out therefore in his name; but, in their operation, they affected his followers much more than him, and hence the violent clamour that was raised against them. The most obnoxious articles were modified or rescinded very nearly *two* years ago, yet this clamour still continues. Why? Because these regulations, whilst they subsisted in full force, proved effectual, and that it is feared they may be again resorted to. What have been the consequences of relaxation in them? Have the persons at Longwood been more contented?—H. L."

[3.] "No letter was communicated, but only some memoranda which Sir Thomas Reade had taken with him of the heads of the instructions received. *Vide* copy of letter written to Count Bertrand, dated 8th October, 1816, recapitulating the instructions which Sir Thomas Reade had made known to Napoleon Bonaparte, transmitted with Sir Hudson Lowe's despatch to Earl Bathurst, 10th October, 1816.—H. L."

[4.] "It was not insinuated that the other domestics would share the same lot. Sir Hudson Lowe never objected to Napoleon Bonaparte having foreign domestics.—H. L."

Helena to Europe. They navigated 35 days in stormy seas, in order to return to the point from whence they had set out 50 days before, occasioning needless trouble and expense to the administration of the navy. If there was an objection to these domestics landing in the first instance in England, might they not have been left to await the orders of the Ministry at an anchorage, or at Gibraltar? Count Las Cases was subjected to this cruelty. All the French who shall be desirous of returning to their own country must first incur these dangers and experience this excessive fatigue; it is a general order of service. What contempt of man! In short, the conduct, ever more and more illiberal, of the commandant of this place whenever ships have arrived from Europe; his repeated declarations that his instructions are not the same with those of his predecessor, [5] that they are even of a darker nature than his conduct, all prove that the second assertion of Lord Bathurst, "*that his correspondence has been in favour of the persons detained,*" is not more accurate than the first, "*that Sir Hudson Lowe had taken only executive measures.*"

> "Thus, then, when Napoleon Bonaparte represented it was impossible for him to write to those to whom he wished to write, it was not true." (2.)

2. *It was not true.* The honourable speaker contradicts himself. In fact, Count Montholon thus expresses himself in the annexed letter of the 23rd August, marked B:—"*It is the same spirit of hatred which has ordained that the Emperor may not write or receive any letter, unless it be opened and read by the English Ministers and the officers of St. Helena. He has* THUS *been denied the possibility of receiving news from his wife, his son, and his brothers.*"

[5.] "The only difference of instruction to which Sir Hudson Lowe has ever referred regards 'communication,' wherein his rule is more precise than what was contained in the instruction given to his predecessor. He has established no regulation on this head, however, which Sir George Cockburn did not [feel himself warranted, even by his instructions, to direct. *Vide* the proclamation of the 17th July, published immediately after his arrival, and his orders, as naval commander-in-chief, to King's ships, as well as to all vessels resorting to the island of St. Helena.—H. L."

"That he had not received letters from his relations and friends in Europe, and that it was impossible for him to receive them: this was not true." (3.)

3. *This was not true:*—to what does the expression apply? Count Montholon has not and cannot have alleged any complaint that Napoleon did not receive letters, since the latter declared that he would not receive any open.

"As might be inferred from a letter of Sir George Cockburn to him." (4.)

4. There has not and cannot have been any correspondence between Napoleon and the officers of the English Government, since they are not agreed as to the title.

"He did not know how he could discharge his duty if he did not make himself acquainted with the nature of such communication." (5.)

5. An assurance [6] has been asked of the commandant of this place that a letter to the Sovereign should be sent sealed to England. It was well known that he could not answer for what would be done with it in London. If the King of England were not able to receive letters till the Ministers had read them, England would not be a monarchy. At Venice, at Ragusa, at Lucca, the Doges and the Gonfaloniers were never subject to such an humiliation. It is probable that, if a minister opened a letter addressed to the Prince, without being sanctioned by a general or special authority for so doing, the Prince would withdraw from him his confidence. The English constitution has not tarnished with such a stain the crown of Edward and Elizabeth; it would have been a stain on the nation itself. If ministers are responsible before the tribunals, kings are responsible before God and the people. How could the monarch be informed of the faults of his ministers, admonish them, or dismiss them? They are not responsible for what the Prince knows, hears, or reads, but for the orders which he gives, for the measures which he takes; then they ought to know everything, in order that they may be able to advise the throne, with full cognizance of the case.

[6.] "No such assurance was ever asked of Sir Hudson Lowe.—H. L."

"On the knowledge that attempts had been made through the medium of newspapers to hold communication with Napoleon." (6)

6. Napoleon never demanded anything. On arriving off Madeira, Count Bertrand inquired if any French books were to be found there; they had very few. He made a list of books, [7] and asked to address it to a bookseller of London or Paris. Admiral Cockburn declared that he should take charge of it. In June, 1816, some chests were indeed received containing books, without any catalogue or explanation. It being perceived that there was no recent publication, and that even the collection of the 'Moniteur' had been broken off at 1808, and the circumstance having been remarked that Count Montholon wrote the letter of the 23rd of August to the Governor of this island, he thought proper to make an observation upon it, in order to ascertain if this was a new restriction. A proof that there was nothing strange in this new restriction is the avowal that no journals are to be sent to Longwood which may be wished for there, because "*attempts had been made through the medium of newspapers to hold communication with Napoleon*" [8]. What a chimera! How is it to be conceived that at a distance of 2000 leagues from Europe, receiving journals so rarely, it were possible to correspond by these means? But are there any journals printed at St. Helena? It was on similar pretexts that the jailers of the Inquisition and of the Council of Ten of Venice interdicted not only journals and books, but even paper, ink, and light.

"The next complaint was, that he was not allowed to open an account with a bookseller: now, this was not true." (7.)

7. *This was not true.* The correspondence with a bookseller might be carried on by open letters. The officers correspond daily in this manner with their families; but it is easy to con-

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[7.] "These books were ordered on a list sent by General Bonaparte's own desire to England. The cost (of which an account was sent to Count Bertrand for his information), amounting to 1396*l.* 1*s.*, has never been paid, nor any reply sent to the letter written to Count Bertrand on the subject.—H. L."

[8.] "See Count Las Cases' intercepted letter to Lady Clavering, and the ciphers in the Antigallican Monitor.—H. L."

ceive that, if the 'Morning Chronicle' or the 'Edinburgh Review' may afford place for a correspondence extremely dangerous to the safety of England, the correspondence with a bookseller is dangerous in a very different manner. In fact, as this bookseller might send 300 or 400 volumes at once, time would be required for searching and going through them all; and besides, are there not sympathetic inks and secret alphabets? It is for this reason that books sent by authors [9] known in London have been stopped at St. Helena. On the same inquisitorial principle, a botanist [10] of Schoenbrünn having arrived in this place, where he resided several months, and having it in his power to give a father news of his son, whom he had seen at Vienna, the greatest care was taken to prevent him. Indeed it is to be conceived what danger might thence result to Great Britain. This botanist might be appointed to conclude a league offensive and defensive! Count Las Cases, violently torn away from Longwood in November, 1816, was kept a month in secret before being sent to the Cape; at the moment of his departure the Emperor desired to see him; but Count Las Cases might possibly receive communications capable of overthrowing Europe! Yet he was sent to the Cape of Good Hope, where he was to wait several months for permission to proceed to Europe. He has been there six months, and his return is not yet spoken of.

> "Who had ever heard of an affectionate draft on a banking-house, or an enthusiastic order for the sale of stock?" (8.)

8. Where has it been said that a correspondence could not be held with a banker or agent? Count Montholon, in the letter which is the object of the speech, says the contrary, and answers victoriously to the amiable pleasantry of the noble Lord. He thus expresses himself:—"*I had the honour to tell*

[9.] "Only one book has ever been sent by any author in London, and he left it to Sir Hudson Lowe's discretion to present it or not. The imperial title in gilt letters on the back led Sir Hudson Lowe to adopt the latter course with regard to it.—H. L."

[10.] "The botanist brought letters and a lock of the hair of the son of Napoleon Bonaparte, which he clandestinely delivered to Napoleon's valet-de-chambre. It was the *clandestine* mode in which the thing was done that excited observation, and not the act in itself.—H. L."

you that the Emperor had no funds; that for a year he had neither received nor written any letter, and that he was in complete ignorance as to what is passing, or may have been passing, in Europe. Transported by violence to this rock, at 2000 *leagues distance, without the power of receiving or writing any letter, he now remains entirely at the discretion of the English agents. The Emperor has ever desired, and does desire, to provide for the whole of his expenses, of every kind, and he will do it as soon as you will render it possible, by removing the prohibition imposed on the merchants of the island against being of service to his correspondence, and by ordering that it shall not be subjected to any inquisition on your part, or on that of any of your agents. As soon as the wants of the Emperor shall be known in Europe* [11], *the persons who interest themselves concerning him will send the funds necessary for this provision," &c. &c.*

"That the letters sent by General Bonaparte, or persons of his suite, were read by subaltern officers: this was not true." (9.)

9. *This was not true.* There has been a want of the respect due to private correspondence. The minister himself divulges this secret when he says in the face of Europe that Prince Joseph alone has written to the Emperor; and even that *was not true* [12]; when he has spoken concerning the letters which are received and written by the French from St. Helena, with persons who, upon their arrival there, have conversed with the authors of these letters, and have reminded them of the con-

[11.] "There has been, so far as has come to Sir Hudson Lowe's knowledge, a great lukewarmness on the part of Napoleon Bonaparte's relations and friends in administering to any wants, pecuniary or otherwise, which he may have been supposed to be suffering under at St. Helena. The Princess Borghese caused some wine to be sent to him, and this is the only article that has come from any of his family or friends. Whatever hopes may have been held forth, none have been, to Sir Hudson Lowe's knowledge, realised; and Napoleon Bonaparte, with his followers, might have been starving for want, but for the liberality with which the British Government has provided for his and their necessities.—H. L."

[12.] "At the time Earl Bathurst's speech was made, it is believed only one letter had been received by Napoleon Bonaparte, and that from Joseph Bonaparte; but about that time, or shortly afterwards, he received letters from his mother, sisters, and Cardinal Fesch.—H. L."

tents. The Commandant of St. Helena has gone still farther: not only the contents of the letters have been the subject of conversation [13], but he has spoken reproachfully concerning them [14]. Count Las Cases, having lived ten years in England, was a warm enthusiast concerning the liberality of the English laws; he believed himself to have had some share in the Emperor Napoleon's determination to go on board the Bellerophon, and this reflection was grievous to his soul. He is almost blind; his son is attacked with a chronic disorder; he consoled himself with confiding his sorrows to the bosom of his friend Lady Clavering, who resides in London. Three or four successive times, and at long intervals, Sir Hudson Lowe, after having read them [15], reproached him concerning certain expressions, more or less animated, which they might contain. The ordinary shrewdness of that officer is to be recognised in the turn which he appears to have given to his ministerial correspondence. Indiscretions in certain things contained in the letters have been the subject of conversation [16] in this little island. It is true that some articles of dress having been offered to Count Las Cases he refused them; not because he would receive nothing from the British Government, but that he might have nothing from the hand which offered them, and which had become to him so odious.

"Now this was a direct falsehood, for which there was not the smallest foundation." (10.)

10. The minister indignantly rejects the idea that letters arriving at St. Helena have been sent back to London. He is in the right; but he is indignant at the execution of his own instructions: they are positive. "*No letter that comes to St.*

[13 & 14.] "Sir Hudson Lowe never did make the contents of the letters a subject of conversation on the island. Whoever may have said so to Napoleon Bonaparte has falsely informed him. The first letter received for Napoleon Bonaparte, which was an open one, he enclosed to Count Bertrand. The 8th article of the regulation, letter A, shows the principle upon which Sir Hudson Lowe regulates his conduct in this particular.—H. L."

[15.] "Sir Hudson Lowe spoke to Count Bertrand, and not to Count Las Cases, about one letter principally.—H. L."

[16.] "It is not true he made Count Las Cases' letters a subject of conversation in the island.—H. L."

Helena, except through the Secretary of State, must be communicated to the General or his attendants, if it be written by a person not residing on the island," &c. The Commandant of this place had therefore to send back the letters which did not reach him by that channel, and, if he had not done so, he would have swerved from his instructions. It is but a few days ago that he forwarded to Count Bertrand a chest containing school-books, and some articles for children, which Lady Holland had sent for the Countess Bertrand. He began by declaring that this chest had been addressed to him direct, that it had not passed through the Secretary of State's office, but that he should however transmit it. Were it necessary to state the number of letters, of books, or other articles which have not been transmitted, by reason of this part of the instructions, it would be seen that the case occurs very frequently. It is also true that sometimes, as in the instance here mentioned, the Commandant of this place has taken upon himself to depart from them, but merely according to his caprice, which is the worst of all [17].

> "No answer had been returned, &c. Indeed in the voluminous papers which had been transmitted from St. Helena, nothing was more painfully disgusting than the utter indifference to truth shown throughout." (11.)

11. The speaker says here, "*No answer had been returned*" to the letter of Sir Hudson Lowe. Count Montholon answered it by the annexed letter marked C [18], which is a clear and positive answer. Might it not then be said, borrowing the language of the speech, "*this was not true*"?

> "The complaint that all intercourse with the inhabitants was prevented was untrue." (12.)

12. *Was untrue.* Communication with the inhabitants took

[17.] "This is the kind of return for every act of attention that is attempted to be shown, when refraining from what might perhaps be considered as too rigorous a compliance with the instructions.—H. L."

[18.] "This letter does not contain a clear and positive answer. (*Vide* Sir Hudson Lowe's letter, and the reply.) The letter of Count Montholon, on account of the first paragraph, was returned to the writer of it forthwith.—H. L."

place during the first nine months, but since the restrictions, of which a copy is annexed, it has ceased entirely. The inhabitants who demanded passes were subjected to two very long interrogatories [19]; the one to ascertain what they had to do at Longwood, the other to ascertain what had there been said and done. There was ever an objection to give these passes otherwise than for a single fixed day; frequently they were refused. There is no society, no communication between Longwood and the inhabitants of St. Helena.

"But those who had been detected in attempting to approach him in disguise or in false characters." (13.)

13. An insidious insinuation! There was not one [20].

"That he had been prevented from having any intercourse with the officer of the garrison: there was no foundation for this." (14.)

14. Until the month of August the officers of the 53rd daily formed part of the society of the Countess Bertrand [21], who, having been educated in England, speaks English. But since the restrictions which began to be in force in August, they have been seen no more, for the same reasons which prevented the inhabitants from continuing their visits. This prohibition of all communication is necessary, in order that the world may not have the means of knowing the criminal conduct pursued by the officer appointed to guard St. Helena.

"When he supposed the prohibition which he so much lamented to have existed." (15.)

15. The first proceedings of Sir Hudson Lowe in this place

[19.] "The inhabitants were not put to any such interrogatories as are here stated. If they asked for a pass, and were persons of a respectable class, it was given to them, and no particular interrogatory made either before or after.—H. L."

[20.] "Sir Hudson Lowe does not immediately recollect the circumstance to which this observation replies. It may have possibly occurred during the time of Sir George Cockburn.—H. L."

[21.] "Before Sir Hudson Lowe's arrival the Count and Countess Bertrand lived outside the precincts of Longwood. When they became established at Longwood, the same rules, as was foreseen by Sir Hudson Lowe's predecessor, applied to them as to every other person residing there. The regulations of the 19th of October made no alteration on this head.—H. L."

were insults. A short time after his arrival he endeavoured to induce the officers and domestics of the suite of Napoleon to abandon him [22]. He wished to change the physician at Longwood, and to appoint one of his own choice [23]. At a later period he sent away part of the French domestics, hinting [24] at an intention of sending them all away in succession, and of allowing no domestics at Longwood but those of his own choosing, taken from among the inhabitants of the island or the soldiers of the colonial battalion. In the month of August he put the restrictions in force, causing them to be executed clandestinely, denying, at the same time, that he had made any change in the order established by his predecessor [25]. At length, in the month of October, he found himself constrained to communicate them;[1] but, persisting in his indirect course, he did not acquaint the English officers with them, ashamed to avow such sentiments in presence of his countrymen, and doubtless fearing that they themselves, at the sight of restrictions so senseless, might seek to discover what could be their secret aim. The same mystery is observed in the placing of sentinels [26], and the perpetual changing of orders: frequently the officers do not receive them direct, and

[22.] "This is wholly unfounded.—H. L."

[23.] "Sir Hudson Lowe wished Napoleon Bonaparte to see a second medical person, but never proposed or suggested his dismissing the first one.—H. L."

[24.] "He sent away those he was ordered to send away, but he never did hint any intention to send away others.—H. L."

[25.] "The regulations in question were specifically for the information of the persons at Longwood, to serve for their guidance. They were merely reducing to rule (except under the head of limits) what had before existed. The general principle of them was established before Sir Hudson Lowe's arrival, by the proclamations and orders of his predecessor. The proclamations and general orders rendered it besides unnecessary to make any specific communication, to either officers or inhabitants, of the terms of a regulation which supposed the exercise of some discretion on the part of the persons to whom it was addressed, to supersede the necessity of any actual and direct interference with them. *Vide* again Sir Hudson Lowe's replies to the first remarks on those regulations, and the answer in note 2.—H. L."

[26.] "The sentries have no other orders than what they receive from their officers, who are always furnished with written ones.—H. L."

1 See vol. i. pp. 330-32.

learn them only from the serjeants; and the orderly officer at Longwood, being not always apprised of them, cannot caution the French, who are thus exposed to be insulted by the sentinels. One of these strange orders was to stop every suspicious person. Now whom will an English soldier sooner suspect than a Frenchman? wherefore, on several occasions, although within the precincts, Baron Gourgaud was stopped while taking his walk. Attempts were made to raise the English spirit among the body of officers of the garrison, and to rouse all that might remain of hatred against their former enemy: contemptuous expressions with regard to the English soldiers were imputed to him [27]. He thought it his duty to send for the orderly officer stationed at Longwood, Mr. Poppleton, as first Captain of the 53rd; he charged him to tell his comrades that what had been said to them was a calumny; that he loved brave soldiers, and that he was pleased with the conduct of the officers and soldiers of that regiment [28]. This officer's answer was what, under such circumstances, a man of honour would make.

> "On this ground, therefore, it could not be objected that there was an unreasonable degree of restraint." (16.)

16. The speaker here says, "*That range was not reduced till it had been found that he had abused that confidence reposed in*

[27.] "Sir Hudson Lowe never heard of any such contemptuous expressions, except from Count Las Cases, who said to an English officer that 'the Emperor could not bear the sight of a red coat.' Sir Hudson Lowe did not believe Napoleon Bonaparte had used any expressions to justify this remark, but ascribed the mention of them to Count Las Cases. It was only after Count Las Cases' expressions had been repeated at Longwood these remarks (applying them to Sir Hudson Lowe) were made by Napoleon Bonaparte, and an attempt used to ascribe to his invention an observation that had been made by one of his followers.—H. L."

[28.] "The circumstances of this interview with Captain Poppleton, as related by himself, are as follows. [See vol. i. p. 277.] Only three days before the above conversation passed, Count Montholon had addressed a letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, protesting, in the name of the 'Emperor,' against any officer or inhabitant being received at Longwood who could only enter with a pass from the Governor. The message attempted to be conveyed through Captain Poppleton might therefore have been only an endeavour to throw upon the Governor all the odium of a restriction which Napoleon Bonaparte had just placed on himself.—H. L."

him by tampering with the inhabitants." How could that be possible, since from the month of May, 1816, Napoleon has not been on horseback, and has ceased to go out of doors? [29] How does Lord Bathurst reconcile this assertion with the declaration that is made by the Commandant of this place by the second article of the Restrictions annexed, which prescribes the reduction of the precincts, and which he thus accounts for: "*The road to the left of Hutt's Gate, and returning by Woody Ridge to Longwood, never having been frequented by General Bonaparte since the Governor's arrival, the post which observed it will for the greater part be withdrawn*" ? &c. How does he reconcile it with his own declaration,—"*and if no attempts were made to effect that escape, there would not be wanting some from false motives of compassion to reproach him for those restrictions which had probably prevented these attempts from being made*"? They have not, then, been made. What a contradiction! what calumny to justify a culpable conduct! Besides, the precincts have been in fact annulled by the following articles of the Restrictions. Article I. "*Longwood, with the road along the ridge by Hutt's Gate to the signal-gun near the alarm-house, will be established as the limits: sentries will designate the external boundary.*" Article IV. "*It is requested, therefore, General Bonaparte will abstain from entering any houses, or engaging in conversation with the persons he may meet (except so far as the ordinary salutations of politeness, with which every one will be instructed to treat him, may appear to require), unless in the presence of a British officer,*" &c. It is evident that the aim of these restrictions was to tarnish or to outrage the

[29.] "*Vide* Sir Hudson Lowe's reply to the *first* remarks on the regulations of 9th October. *Vide* also the remark No. 2 in these replies, as to the regulations regarding, in their operation, the followers of Napoleon Bonaparte more than himself. It is they who are employed as his hands, eyes, and ears. Napoleon Bonaparte has always had a space of *eight* miles within which he might take exercise uninterrupted, four miles of which may be considered as his own domain, within which he may walk or ride without being seen by scarcely any person. His limits are now *twelve* miles, and on giving an hour's previous notice they are extended to twenty miles, every part of which (comprehending all the finest part of the island) he may exercise in wholly unaccompanied. If he desires to go farther, the presence of an English officer is the only obstacle to which he is exposed.—H. L."

characters of the detained persons, and to give occasion for quarrels with the sentries. [30] The Minister says the limits have been reduced only one-third; they are reduced to a road 12 feet wide; they are virtually annulled, or at least as respects the principal personage; since, the tendency being to outrage him, and to compromise him with the sentries, he has been obliged to cease going out, in order to cut short such pretexts, and shelter himself from all these insults. The end will be the sooner attained!!!

"To reproach him for those restrictions which had probably prevented those attempts from being made," &c. (17.)

17. In the opinion of military and naval men, if there were not any land guard at St. Helena, the brigs alone which cruise round the isle might suffice to render all egress impossible, or, in other words, to give ninety-nine chances to the keeper, and scarcely one to the prisoners. But the chances become still more in favour of the keeper if he places eight or ten infantry posts of nine men each on the promontories; thus, through the intervention of the existing batteries, the sentries would be all in sight, and any guard in the interior of the isle would be of no use.

"And it was not the custom for Lieutenant-Governors to choose the most unpleasant and unwholesome places." (18.)

18. The Lieutenant-Governor had a large handsome house in town, where he could reside, especially in winter; Count Montholon thus expresses himself respecting Longwood in the letter of the 23rd of August:—"*The Emperor has been established at Longwood, a spot exposed to all winds, a barren uninhabited tract, destitute of water, unsusceptible of any culture, &c. The house at Longwood was built to serve as a barn to the Company's farm: subsequently the Lieutenant-Governor had some rooms fitted up there; it was used as his country-house, but*

[30.] "All sentries that were in his way have been long since removed, and they never had any orders by which they were likely to interfere with him, even should he attempt to pass outside his limits, the orders being that the sentry is to acquaint the commander of the post, who is to go up and respectfully inform him of it.—H. L."

it was in no wise suitable for a dwelling. For a year past men have been constantly at work there, and the Emperor has been continually enduring the unwholesomeness and inconvenience of a house in a state of building. The room in which he sleeps is too small to hold a bed of ordinary dimensions; but any new erection at Longwood would only prolong the inconvenience occasioned by the workmen," &c.

"So many alterations were made at Longwood that General Bonaparte remained in that room three months." (19.)

19. This is adding irony to the worst proceedings. Napoleon never had the choice of his establishment at St. Helena; even to this day he does not know the island. The Northumberland anchored in the road of James Town on the 15th October, 1815; there was an eagerness to land after a three months' voyage. For the women and children this was still more necessary; yet the Admiral intimated that, according to Lord Bathurst's instructions, the French were to remain on board until their establishments were prepared. This intelligence occasioned consternation even to the ship's company, who were to remain under orders during that time. The Admiral went on shore 24 hours afterwards; he said that the isle was wretched, that all the houses he had seen were small cottages having only two rooms; that, according to the information he had collected, there was nothing suitable in the whole island except three houses, the choice of which was forbidden him by his instructions; the castle or town residence of the Governor, the town house of the Lieutenant-Governor, and Plantation House, the country-seat of the Governor; the two former because they were in town. Why was Plantation House excluded? [31] This is a mystery which can only be explained by the whole of the measures! The Admiral said that, being thus bound by his instructions, he had chosen Longwood; that it had four rooms, and that in two or three months the ship

[31.] "Probably because it was the Governor's residence, as well as on account of the grounds, nurseries, and young plantations, which are of great value and in a state of progressive improvement, and might be much affected by a change of its possessor—at least such are supposed to have been the motives of the Court of Directors in giving their orders on the subject.—H. L."

carpenters might make the necessary additions of wood; that he comprehended all that there would be of barbarity in the execution of his instructions in leaving the French on board for three months longer; that he was therefore going to land them in 24 hours, and had for this purpose engaged a furnished hotel near the castle. This abode was doubtless preferable to the Northumberland, but for the Emperor it was insupportable. He occupied a small chamber on the first-floor, and was exposed to all the annoyance of public curiosity. At break of day, he mounted on horseback and proceeded to Longwood. Its aspect appeared to him frightful, but anything was preferable to the town. It was his wish, therefore, to have settled there immediately, even under a tent. On his return, at the eminence of the Briars, he had an invincible repugnance to re-entering the furnished hotel in the town. He preferred occupying a room, fifteen feet square, in the cottage of the Briars. He would have preferred the hovel of a *Paria*. Since the French were temporarily placed in town, they might have been placed there conveniently, if they had been all lodged in the castle, the town residence of the Governor, he being then at Plantation House. That residence, having spacious apartments, a court-yard, and a terrace, had none of the inconveniencies of the furnished hotel.

> " That he was unwilling to remove from Mr. Balcombe's, on account of the facility of communication with the town." (20.)

20. An odious insinuation! A stay was made of 53 days at the Briars; Longwood was inhabited a month too soon; the day of arriving there being the next after that when it had been painted with oil paint within and without. For more than three months eighty or a hundred workmen continued to encumber the vicinity of the house, and to occasion a great inconvenience.

> " During his residence there he was circumscribed to a small garden, beyond which he never moved without a guard: he did not, however, at that time make any complaint." (21.)

21. There was no guard at the Briars. The annexed, marked D, is the complaint addressed on the 24th of October,

1815, at the time of the departure of the first ship for England.

"Orders were given to send out a frame for the purpose of constructing a house for General Bonaparte." (22.)

22. Seven or eight store-ships arrived in May and June, 1816, in the road of James Town, laden with materials worth about 60,000*l.* sterling, wood, tiles, &c., proper for building a house. At a later period the store-ship Adolphus brought about 16,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* worth of iron gratings. The carriage of these materials from the sea up to the mountain, the purchase of land, and the expenses of building, have been estimated at 60,000*l.* sterling, allotted into six years of labour. Therefore, a sum of 180,000*l.* sterling had been destined by the English Government for providing, in the course of six years, a dwelling for the detained persons. [32] In consenting to so considerable an expense, consequently, the Minister was convinced that there was no suitable house upon this rock but that of Plantation House; in this case why did he exclude that? The pretext that it cannot be guarded without much difficulty is ridiculous and untenable. Plantation House is more easily to be guarded than Longwood; the reason of this singular exclusion is, therefore, a mystery. But did there not exist an obligation of providing an abode at St. Helena? Was this obligation to be fulfilled by excluding the three only houses in the island that were proper for this purpose, and by sending an edifice in carmine and Indian ink, with building materials, and an assurance that there would be a house in six years? Upon the most frightful spot in the world all necessary measures have been taken to render unavailable the local resources of this poor place. The establishment is as bad as possible. How can it be conceived that all this is without a purpose!

"Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to the General, whether he would like to have a new house erected, or addition made to the old one: he received no answer." (23.)

23. The Commandant of this place wrote on the 7th July, 1816, to Count Montholon: the latter replied on the next day,

[32.] "This appears all extravagant fiction.—H. L."

the 8th, by the annexed letter, marked E.[1] An answer could not have been more prompt or more explicit. He says, "*If you have instructions to build, it would be preferable that this should be done in the cultivated part of the isle,*" &c. . . . "*The idea of adding wings to the building of Longwood would be attended with every kind of inconvenience,*" [33] &c.

> "While he knew that in two or three years, either the administration in this country would be overturned, or a change would take place in the Government of France, and, in either case, he should be released." (24.)

24. *This is not true.* [34] That answer might be expected from the mouth of an insane or intoxicated man. Is that the supposition that is wished to be propagated? Count Montholon's letter of the 8th July, 1816, has already been cited. After that letter the matter [35] was no longer brought into notice; previous to it the question was concerning this wooden house. The Emperor said "*that he could consider such a structure in no other light than as a mockery; that, if there were a wish to furnish him with an abode, that might have been suitably done at the moment of his arrival; that, moreover, it was to be proved by calculation that six years would be required for the carriage of the materials to the eminence, and for the construction of the house; that in six years it was very evident he should have no need of it; that they suffered him to want a convenient habitation (though there were such in the island) while he needed it, in order to give him one at a period when he should want only a grave; that all this bore upon an evil thought!!*" These remarks of the Emperor were made a fortnight or a month before Count Montholon's letter, annexed, marked E,

[33.] "*Vide* the last paragraph of Count Montholon's letter.—H. L."

[34.] "The exact expressions used by Napoleon Bonaparte, taken from a memorandum made by Sir Hudson Lowe immediately on quitting him, were as follows:—'En deux ans il y aura changement de ministère en Angleterre, ou un nouveau Gouvernement en France, et je ne serai plus ici.'—H. L."

[35.] "*Vide* memorandum delivered by Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard to Count Bertrand, referred to in Sir Hudson Lowe's despatch to Earl Bathurst of 16th February, 1817.—H. L."

[1] See this letter in vol. i. pp. 213-215.

which will be evident on an attentive perusal of that letter. This is important; and it was not without design that the remarks were said to have been made after the letter.

"With all that could be considered as suitable for a person in his situation." (25.)

25. The first instructions of the Ministry stated that treasure would be found on board the Bellerophon; that Admiral Cockburn was to seize it; that it was to be placed in the Bank of England, and that the interest was to be employed in defraying all the expenses of maintenance at St. Helena. The Admiral found no treasure; on arriving at St. Helena he was embarrassed on the score of expense; he expressed some concern at the defect of his instructions. Yet he went beyond them: nothing was asked of him by the French; he arranged matters as he chose. He estimated the ordinary (annual) expense at 18,000*l.* sterling. The new Commandant valued it in May, 1816, at 19,000*l.* sterling. In the July following he received fresh orders; he communicated them, and on the 17th of August he wrote the annexed letter, marked F, to Count Montholon, and thus expressed himself:—"*Having used all efforts to effect a reduction in them*" (the expenses of the establishment at Longwood), "*I am now enabled to transmit to you, for General Bonaparte's information, two statements, furnishing sufficiently precise data whereon to found a calculation of the probable annual expense,*" &c. . . . . "*The instructions I have received from the British Government direct me to limit the expenditure of General Bonaparte's establishment to* 8000*l. per annum. They give the liberty at the same time to admit of any further expense being incurred which he may require, as to table, and so forth, begond what this sum would cover, provided he furnished the funds whereby the surplus charges may be defrayed. I am now, therefore, under the necessity of requesting you would make known to him the impossibility I am under of bringing the expenses of his household, on its present establishment in point of numbers, within the limits prescribed, unless I make such a reduction under several heads as might naturally abridge from conveniences which the persons around him now enjoy,*" &c. . . . . "*I beg leave to request being informed, previous to attempting any further considerable reduction, which might prove inconve-*

nient to him, or to the persons of his suite, if he is content such an attempt should be made, or if he is willing to place at my command sufficient funds to meet the extra charges which must otherwise be unavoidably incurred," &c. By the statements which he annexed to the letter that officer proved that 19,000*l.* sterling would be required to meet all expenses; that upon this sum 5500*l.* sterling were a fixed charge for the maintenance of the buildings, which are in very bad repair, for the wages of the purveyor, for conveyance from the town to the mountain, for the table of the officers on guard, and for the stables; that there remain then 13,500*l.* sterling, which, divided among 39 individuals who composed the household at Longwood, would be 14*s.* a-head *per diem*, which, in this country, where the prices are four times those of London, are equal to 3*s.* 6*d.*, for the supply of all wants, lighting, firing, table, and other household purposes. To this demand of Sir Hudson Lowe an answer was given in the postscript of the letter of the 23rd August, and in the latter part of the letter of the 9th of September, already quoted, marked B and C. These answers are explicit. Things were very bad even when the officer appointed to guard St. Helena had a credit of 20,000*l.* sterling; but when he had no more than 8000*l.*, in consequence of the decision of Lord Bathurst, there did not remain what was physically necessary. From this sum of 8000*l.* sterling must be taken 5500*l.* for fixed expenses;[36] there remained then 2500*l.* sterling for housekeeping, or 10*d.* a-day to each man; this is a soldier's pay.[37] Even the necessary supply of bread was

[36.] "The expenses of Napoleon Bonaparte's establishment never were reduced to 8000*l.* a-year. They always exceeded 12,000*l.*, *exclusive* of the pay of the purveyor, and various items which fell under the general account of the island. It is here to be remarked, and it is of consequence it should be known, that Napoleon Bonaparte's own wants are very limited. The great cause of expense at Longwood are the families of Counts Bertrand and Montholon, who do not live with him, but keep separate houses and separate tables. About two-thirds of the expense are incurred on their account. It is in Europe, and not at St. Helena, complaints about provisions are principally made.—H. L."

[37.] "The purveyor's accounts show the articles furnished. The average quantity of bread, on the general aggregate of the *whole* establishment, was never so little as 1½ lb. per diem for each person, including domestics and children; and on a remark of the maître-d'hôtel this quantity was *instantly* augmented *to* 2 *lbs.*"

discontinued. The house-steward caused the plate to be cut up on the 20th October, and sold 952 ounces of it; on the 9th November 1227 ounces; and on the 30th December 2048; and by these means effected the requisite supplies. The Governor appointed the banker who was to purchase this silver, and fixed the rate at 5*s.* the ounce. [38] The resource of silver is exhausted: at present, on the 1st of June, the means of subsistence arise from thirteen bills of exchange, of 300*l.* sterling each, payable monthly, for effects which Count Las Cases had in London at his own disposal, which he offered and lent in January, 1817. The question here is very simple; either the English Government are obliged to furnish the supplies that are wanted, and these wants have been determined by the officers on a principle of strict necessity, and on a parsimonious scale; or, if they do not conceive themselves so obliged, let them allow a correspondence with Europe, as was said in the postscript of the letter of the 23rd August, and let them permit ships to be sent to procure what is wanting. This place affords nothing, not even wood; the very fuel is sent from England, and the meat from Africa. But to be unwilling to furnish what is necessary, and not to allow it to be procured, is the height of injustice and tyranny. It is making a sport of obligations and of all duties! It is affording a surmise of what thoughts are entertained! They had better be openly avowed.

> "If he thought any additional luxury necessary beyond what could be provided for the sum fixed in this country, his Majesty's ministers were inclined to allow it." (26.)

26. See the paragraph above quoted of the letter of the Commandant of this place, "The instructions I have received," &c.

[38.] "The price of the plate was not fixed by the Governor. It was regulated by the price current of silver in England, on an agreement between Count Bertrand and the purveyor, Mr. Balcombe. The following is the account of a person [O'Meara] who had full opportunities of knowing the springs of action at Longwood, in a note to an officer of Sir Hudson Lowe's staff:—'They have taken out the eagles and beaten up into a mass a portion of the plate, openly and avowedly for the purpose of selling it, for the purpose of providing money in order to cover expenses incurred over and above the Government allowance. The object they have in view in this is very evident, and does not require me to point it out to you.'—H. L."

"And he assured Sir Hudson Lowe that he might advance the money with safety, because he had no doubt that his draft would be accepted." (27.)

27. A fable to screen a most shameful proceeding! Having no banker, no offer could ever have been made to draw bills of exchange; and it has been positively declared in the letter of the 23rd of August that there existed a complete ignorance as to what is passing in Europe; and it is upon similar conceptions or pretexts that existing treaties were violated, in not paying the two millions of francs, according to engagement, for meeting the expenses of the administration of the guard of the isle of Elba, a want of good faith which was at first laughed at, and which was disavowed after the event of the 20th March, 1815. But of what use is this discussion? To prove that engagements that have been entered into ought not to be fulfilled, or that they ought to be but imperfectly discharged, as they have been. Napoleon has had under his orders chests kept by Lords of the Treasury at Paris, Amsterdan, Milan; but he never had a banker.

"In stating this, he did not mean to say this, because General Bonaparte possessed funds, and even large funds." (28.)

28. Yes; such as the treasures of the Bellerophon!

"To come out of the funds and large funds at his own disposal." (29.)

29. But do you wish to ascertain the treasures, which are even very considerable, of Napoleon? they are in open daylight; they are the fine basin of Antwerp, that of Flushing, capable of containing the most numerous naval squadrons, and of sheltering them from the ice and the sea; they are the hydraulic works of Dunkirk, of Havre, and of Nice; the gigantic basin of Cherbourg, the maritime works of Venice, the fine roads from Wesel to Hamburg, from Antwerp to Amsterdam, from Mayence to Metz, from Bordeaux to Bayonne: the causeways of the Simplon, of Mount Cenis, of Mount Genèvre, of the Corniche, which open the Alps in four directions (there alone you will find more than eighty millions): causeways which surpass in boldness, in grandeur, and in labour of art, all the works of the Romans! The roads from the Pyrenees to

the Alps, from Parma to Spezzia, from Savona into Piedmont; the bridges of Jena, of Austerlitz, of the Arts, of Sèvres, of Tours, of Rouane, of Lyons, of Turin, of the Isère, of the Durance, of Bordeaux, of Rouen, &c. The canal which, by the Doubs, joins the Rhine to the Rhone, connecting the seas of Holland with the Mediterranean; that which joins the Scheldt to the Somme, connecting Amsterdam with Paris; that which joins the Rance to the Vilaine; the canal of Arles; that of Pavia; that of the Rhine; the drainage of the marshes of Begouin; of the Cotentin, of Rochefort; the rebuilding of most of the churches demolished during the revolution; the building of many new ones; the building of a great number of houses of industry, for the extirpation of mendicity; the construction of the Louvre, of public granaries, of the Exchange, of the canal of Ourcq, the distribution of its waters in the city of Paris; the drains and sewers, the quays, the embellishments and the monuments of that great capital. The labours of embellishment carried on at Rome; the re-establishment of Lyons and its manufactures; the creation of several hundred cotton manufactories, both for spinning and weaving, in which several millions of hands are employed. The funds vested for creating more than 400 manufactories of sugar from beet-root, for the consumption of a part of France, and which, encouraged for four years, would have sufficed for the consumption of the empire, affording sugar at the price of that of the Indies. The encouragement given to the establishments for separating the fæculæ of the woad-plant, and for extracting from them an indigo as cheap and as perfect as that of the colonies. The numbers of manufactures of objects of art, &c. Fifty millions employed in repairing the palaces of the crown and embellishing them; sixty millions of value in furniture, placed in the palaces of the crown of France, of Holland, of Turin, of Rome; sixteen millions of crown diamonds, all purchased with the money of Napoleon; the Regent diamond alone existing of the ancient crown of France, and even that he had redeemed from the Jews of Berlin, to whom it was pledged for three millions. The Museum Napoleon, estimated at more than four hundred millions, and containing only objects legitimately acquired by purchase, or by the conditions of public treaties of peace, and which were commuted for cession of territory, or for contributions.

Several millions vested for the encouragement of agriculture, that primary interest of France; the institution of horse-races; the introduction of merinos, &c. All this forms a treasure of several milliars, which will exist for ages, and will remain for the confounding of calumny! History will say that it was amidst great wars, without any loans, and on the other hand with a diminution of the public debt, reducing the revenue to less than fifty millions, that all this was done. Very considerable sums still existed in his private treasure, and these were guaranteed to him by the treaty of Fontainebleau, as savings effected on the civil list and other private revenues; these were shared, and did not go wholly into the public treasures, nor wholly into that of France!!!

"To every complaint proceeding from them, there would be no end of their complaining." (30.)

30. There is a want of everything at St. Helena. (I.) Lord Bathurst's calculations on this subject are erroneous. The speaker is pleased to agitate in public certain matters which have in their nature something mean, and tending to the ridiculous. What a contemptuous expression in the tone and general manner of the hon. Minister! This is observable also in the part of his correspondence of which a communication has been received. In fifteen or twenty generations, on reading the speech and

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NOTE DICTATED BY NAPOLEON.—(I.) One word here. [39.] The Emperor has not eaten bread for several months, on account of the bad quality of the flour. Whatever is sent to this place is the refuse of the magazines of Europe; and if there had been sent from London, expressly for Longwood, what is necessary for a house, not of a prince, but of a private individual who has an income of 5000*l.* sterling a-year at Paris, this supply would have cost the English treasury, not merely 8000*l.*, but 80,000*l.* sterling. The English Ministry therefore do but very inadequately fulfil their obligations.

[39.] NOTE BY SIR HUDSON LOWE.—The East India Company can best answer this remark. The flour has been sometimes not so good as at others, but every possible pains have been taken to procure it always of the best quality for Longwood; and the numerous passengers that have gone by this island can best say whether the bread of St. Helena is of such bad quality or not.

the orders of Lord Bathurst, his descendants will disown being of the same blood with him, who, by a mixture of savage hatred and ridiculous pusillanimity, tarnished the moral character of the English people at a time when their triumphant flag covered the globe.

The Minister's speech, therefore, contains twenty erroneous assertions, to each of which might be applied the favourite formula of *was not true*. This affords a presumption that the author made it on false information; that he is deceived by a faithless mandatary, and that he is kept in the dark as to what is passing on this rock. Count Montholon preferred no complaint on these points, namely, 1st, that open letters could not be sent to relatives; 2nd, that open letters could not be received; 3rd, that it was not possible to write to one's banker.

It has been proved, 4thly, that the Minister gave orders to deteriorate the situation of the detained persons; and to this effect have been mentioned the departure of three French domestics, sent away by his orders, and the improper letter, of which no copy was allowed to be left. 5th. That Sir Hudson Lowe has instructions quite different from those of his predecessor, which is testified by his own assertion, publicly repeated. 6th. That he has made restrictions, and those of the most foolish kind, if they do not involve a criminal thought! In support of this evidence has been produced the document marked A, which seems to be unknown to the Minister. 7th. That Count Montholon answered the demand for explanation made by Sir Hudson Lowe on that part of his despatch of the 23rd August which treats of letters brought to this place and sent back to England because they had not arrived through the channel of the Secretary of State's office; and in support has been adduced the document marked C, containing that answer, of which the Minister appears to have no knowledge. 8th. That Count Montholon replied to the offer of the wooden house in 24 hours after the receipt of Sir Hudson Lowe's letter on the subject; and in support of this is annexed the document D, containing that answer, of which the Minister seems to have no knowledge: subsequently that house has been out of the question. 9th. That the respect due to a private correspondence has not been observed. 10th. That all communication is prevented with the inhabitants. 11th. That all communication with the officers is

prevented. 12th. That no proposal has been made to draw bills of exchange on a banker; it is a fable. 13th. That there was never a change of opinion respecting the inconvenience of the house of Longwood. 14th. That Plantation House is more easily to be guarded than any other place in the island. 15th. That the wants of the establishment at Longwood have not been supplied; the estimates attempted to be made on this subject are erroneous. 16th. That no correspondence has been attempted, nor can any be established by means of the journals, in a country so remote as this, and where there is no printing.

It has been proved that this speech gives currency to four insidious calumnies, viz.:—17th. That there was a wish to prolong the stay at the Briars, *on account of the facility of communication with the town.* 18*th. That men have been discovered attempting to approach in disguise, and with false characters.* 19*th. That the precincts were narrowed, because attempts had been made to seduce the inhabitants and the soldiers.* 20*th. That it was said he knew that in two or three years the English Administration would be overthrown, or that changes would take place in the government of France, and that in either case he would be at liberty.*

Another Minister, at a meeting in Ireland (according to the journals), stated that Napoleon has declared at St. Helena that he had never made peace with England but to deceive her, to surprise her, and to destroy her. These calumnies against a man whom they are oppressing with so much barbarity that they hold him by the throat to prevent him from speaking, will be reprobated by every well-born man who has a heart.

The same Minister said in the House of Commons, in the session of 1816, that if the French army was attached to the Emperor it was because he gave in marriage the daughters of the richest families in his empire to his soldiers. He would find it difficult to cite a single example. But they have a right to say what they will concerning the time when Napoleon was placed on the first throne in the world: all his conduct was public; it belongs to the province of opinion and of history. Thousands of libels have appeared, and do appear daily; they are of no effect: sixty millions of men, of the most polished countries in the universe, raise their voice to confound them; and fifty thousand English, who are now traversing the conti-

nent, will carry home opinion and truth to the people of the three kingdoms, who will blush at having been so grossly deceived!

It has been proved that the bill of the 11th of April is an act of proscription, like those of Sylla; that it lays hands on a prince, the illustrious guest of England, in order to give him up to the discretion of the Government, without affording him any legislative guarantee; that there can be no prisoners of war in time of peace; that the Government has violated the bill, even in delegating the right of making restrictions to one of its Ministers, a right with which it alone is invested; that that Minister has violated it by delegating to an individual officer a power which the bill granted only to the Government; that the choice of the frightful rock of St. Helena, that of Longwood also; the privation of all that is necessary to life, moral, as well as physical; the restrictions of Lord Bathurst; the character of the man appointed to guard St. Helena; the restrictions which he has made and re-made; his conduct, at once insidious, ignoble, and violent; that all, in short, is co-ordained to make this great man perish in the torments of an agony sufficiently long to cause his death to appear natural. This conduct violates all the principles of religion, and the rights of man, even in the savage state. How much more frank would the English Government have been if they had ordered to be severed, at one blow, the head of this illustrious enemy! A speedy and sanguinary death would have been more humane, and the English character would have been less stained with it.

The Romans pursued Hannibal to the farther end of Bithynia; Flaminius obtained from King Prusias the death of that great man. But even at Rome, Flaminius was accused of having acted thus for the satisfaction of his private hatred. In vain did he allege that Hannibal, still in the vigour of his age, might be dangerous; that his destruction was useful. A thousand voices answered, that what is unjust and ungenerous can never be advantageous to a great nation; that such pleas would justify assassination, poison, and every crime! Succeeding generations reproached this cowardice in their ancestors; they would willingly have effaced such a stain from their history. Since the revival of letters among modern nations not a generation has arisen which has not concurred in the imprecations which Han-

nibal, when about to swallow the hemlock, pronounced against Rome, who, at a time when her fleets and legions covered Europe, Asia, and Africa, wreaked her wrath on a single unarmed man, whom she dreaded, or pretended to dread. But the Romans never violated hospitality. Sylla found refuge in the house of Marius. Flaminius, before he proscribed Hannibal, did not receive him on board his ship; (II.) he did not declare to him that he had orders to bid him welcome; the Roman fleet did not carry him to the port of Ostia, paying him all the honours due to his rank. Far from having recourse to the protection of the Roman laws, Hannibal chose to trust himself with the kings of Asia. When he was proscribed he was not reposing under the Roman standards; he was under the insignia of kings hostile to the Roman people. When, in the revolutions of ages, a king of England shall be brought before the dread tribunal of the nation, his defenders will insist on the august character of king, the respect due to the throne, to every crowned head, to the anointed of the Lord. But will not his adversaries be able to answer—one of his ancestors proscribed his guest in time of peace; not daring to put him to death in the presence of a people who had fixed laws and public forms, he caused his victim to be exposed on the most unwholesome part of a rock situated in the midst of the ocean, in another hemisphere: this man perished there, after a painful agony, tormented by the climate, by want, by outrages of all kinds? Well! this man was also a great sovereign, raised on the

(II.) When the Emperor quitted the Bellerophon, on the 8th August, the officers and ship's company were in consternation: they felt implicated in the shame and the injustice of such a procedure. Napoleon traversed the deck to descend into the sloop, with calmness, and with a smile upon his lips, having at his side Admiral Keith. He stopped before Captain Maitland; charged him to testify his satisfaction to the officers and crew of the Bellerophon; and, seeing him extremely grieved, said to him, by way of consolation, "*Posterity cannot, in any way, accuse you for what is taking place: you have been deceived, as well as myself.*" Napoleon enjoyed, during twenty-four days, the protection of the British flag; he sojourned in the inner roads of Torbay and Plymouth; and it was not until after that lapse of time, on the 7th of August, when passing on board the Northumberland, that Admiral Keith disarmed the French; the delivering up of arms being one of the characteristics of prisoners of war. In form of procedure, the arms of the Emperor were not demanded.

buckler of thirty-six millions of citizens, who was master of almost all the capitals of Europe, who saw at his court the greatest kings. He was generous towards all; he was for twenty years the arbiter of nations; his family was allied to all the sovereign families, even to that of England; he was twice the anointed of the Lord, twice consecrated by religion!! (III., IV.)

(III.) The observations on Lord Bathurst's speech were written in the beginning of June, 1817. Four months have elapsed since that period. The bad proceedings of the Commandant of the place have gone on augmenting. The detail of them would be very long, and would exceed the limits of a note. It would make known some extraordinary things, certainly unexampled in history.—*Oct.* 1*st*, 1817.

(IV.) In the latter end of September, a banker [40] having some accounts to settle with Count Bertrand, repaired to Longwood. He was shocked at the bad state of the Emperor's health. "*It is true*," said the latter, "*my legs swell, and the scurvy is in my gums. They are assassinating me, even in violating their Bill in Parliament.*" This merchant hastened, it appears, to report to the Commandant of the place what he had seen. The latter deemed it his duty to go next day (Sunday) to the house of Count Bertrand, to ask him earnestly why the Emperor did not get on horseback and take exercise. Count Bertrand, in consequence, wrote to him the annexed letter, marked H.—*Oct.* 1*st*, 1817.

[40.] "The person here designated as a banker, and whom there may have been possibly a design to make such, is Mr. Balcombe, the purveyor. When he gave an account of this conversation to Sir Hudson Lowe, he had scarcely recovered from the shock he experienced at Napoleon Bonaparte's manner and expression of countenance, which he described to Sir Hudson Lowe in terms of the greatest horror.—H. L."

No. 68.

The following Return contains a list of the whole establishment at Longwood in April, 1817 :—

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

GENERAL BERTRAND, Lady, and four children (three male and one female).

GENERAL COUNT MONTHOLON, Lady, and two children (one male and one female).

GENERAL GOURGAUD.

French Attendants—

M. Marchand, first valet-de-chambre.
,, St. Denis, ditto.
,, Noverraz, ditto.
,, Cipriani, maître-d'hôtel.
,, Le Page, first cook.
,, Pierron, confectioner.

French Domestics—

Archambaud, groom.
Gentilini, valet.
Jeannette, French female cook.
Bernard, wife, and son; French servants to General Bertrand.
Josephine, French female servant to General Montholon.
Jeremiah Low, English boy.

Soldier Servants—

Charles Henley, footman.
P. Elwell, confectioner's assistant.
W. Hall, R. Eyles, Richard Mayben, } Stable-men.
T. Clarke, General Montholon's servant.
G. Frith, General Gourgaud's ditto.
—— Williams, stable.
} St. Helena Regiment.
—— Bradley (66th Regt.), cook to General Bertrand.
—— White, servant to General Montholon (St. Helena Regt.)

Women Servants (English)—

Mrs. Gordon, nurse to Madame Bertrand.
Frances Hayward, servant to ditto.
Mrs. Quilton, nurse to Madame Montholon.
Caroline Scott, servant to ditto.

English Servant—

John Wyatt, servant to General Montholon.

Chinese—

Two, employed in the kitchen.

Orderly Officers, Surgeon, &c.

Captain Poppleton.
Mr. O'Meara, surgeon.
Frank, servant to ditto.
Soldier servants (two).

ABSTRACT.

General Bonaparte and Officers		4
Ladies		2
Children (four male and two female)		6
French attendants		6
Ditto domestics		3
Ditto boy		1
Soldier servants (St. Helena)		9
Ditto ditto (66th Regt.)		1
English boy		1
Ditto servant		1
Chinese		2
Women servants		7
		43
Orderly Officer and Surgeon	2	
Ditto ditto's servants	2	
		4
Total		47

No. 69.

TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

(Private.)

My dear General, Downing Street, April 22, 1817.

I send you a copy of a book [1] which, as you may imagine from the title, has attracted much public attention. I believe there is reason to suspect it to have been written under the auspices of Madame [de] Staël and Benjamin Constant. The person who came over about her affairs lately brought it to the bookseller, and has received half the profits of the publication.

[1] Apparently the 'Manuscrit venu de Ste. Hélène.' Bonaparte did not think it was written by Madame de Staël. *Vide* 'Voice,' vol. ii. p. 206.

Talleyrand also has written from Paris that there is reason to suspect that it came from that shop: still there are some who are inclined to suspect that it was written by Las Cases from a recollection of Buonaparte's conversations; but I think there is much internal evidence that it does not come from him. When you have read it you will let Buonaparte have it, and I shall be glad to hear his observations upon it; you may communicate what I have heard respecting the circumstance of its publication. I do not see any objection to your receiving any advances which he makes to be on a better footing with you; on the contrary, I think it may produce a good effect: and you may assure him of your disposition to make his situation more comfortable by a supply of the publications of the day from hence, if he shall desire it. I think it right also to add that there exists in this country no indisposition to allow him the gratifications of the table—particularly of wine. The wine of which he is most fond, I have always understood, is Burgundy: but I have every reason to believe that it would never bear the passage; and if it arrived sour he would swear I intended to poison him.

I am, &c.,

BATHURST.

No. 70.

TO EARL BATHURST, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, May 13, 1817.

Nothing of particular moment occurs for me to report to your Lordship by the present occasion. General Bonaparte continues well and tranquil. Sir Pulteney Malcolm had another long interview with him a few days since, when, after conversing for some time on other topics, he renewed the subject of the restrictions he was under, complaining in particular of that by which he was prevented from quitting the high road when he might go out in a certain direction, saying, he could not move aside . . . . . without exposing himself to be fired at by the sentries. The restriction referred to will be found under the letter B 1, in my reply to his observations.[1] Some inhabitants'

[1] See vol. i. p. 468.

houses and slave habitations lie in the valley that separates this road from Longwood; and to prevent any intercourse until some guarantee should be obtained that it would not be abused by himself or the persons of his family was my object. I was fully prepared to have entered into communication with Count Bertrand on the subject, but, as no opportunity has presented itself, I remain in reserve until it does occur. In the mean time the sentries have no orders to prevent General Bonaparte or any of his officers from quitting the road; and as it is almost the only way he can proceed by when he might be disposed to ride in that direction, the restriction, unless intercourse with the inhabitants is his object, is more imaginary than real. The Admiral observed to him, his principal difficulties arose from his want of communication with me; and said that, as Lord Amherst was soon expected at this island, he thought the opportunity would be a good one for our again meeting. General Bonaparte, as the Admiral told me, made no particular observation in reply. In the first conversation I had with the Admiral after General Bonaparte had before spoken to him respecting his differences with me, I had observed the occasion of Lord Amherst's or Admiral Plampin's arrival might be a proper one for my calling at Longwood as a matter of etiquette and duty, when I should observe how he would act; but I had no idea this would have been spoken of to him, whether as coming from the Admiral or myself, and I shall therefore probably avoid the meeting on such occasion, as it might only give rise to a scene of acting from which no true inference could be drawn. As your Lordship may possibly be surprised, after the observations that General Bonaparte has made, I should not have profited by the Admiral's intermediation, I wish distinctly to observe, it is apprehension of his speaking and acting too exclusively from his own ideas, and being not sufficiently guarded in what he repeats from or says of me, that has made me cautious in availing myself of the mediation proposed through him, conceiving at the same time General Bonaparte may have for a long time felt himself encouraged in his line of proceeding towards me by the visits he received from the Admiral, who was apparently unmindful of the improper language that had been used towards me in his presence when I asked him to accompany me to see General Bonaparte, or of the boast that

had been made of his pleasure in abusing me before him. The Admiral has latterly shown a disposition to promote a reconciliation between us; but matters having gone so far, and written abuse having succeeded to verbal, I feel rather disposed to leave matters to their natural course than to seek a reconciliation upon any questionable grounds. The Admiral repeated to me some parts of his conversation with General Bonaparte on public topics, but nothing of any importance to communicate to your Lordship. Lady Malcolm remarked to an officer of my staff after his last visit, that he had not related to her the conversation he had with General Bonaparte, as he usually did, *when she wrote it down*, so that on his arrival in England your Lordship may probably learn several interesting particulars of General Bonaparte's conversations that have not been communicated to me, and which the state of my relations with him have prevented my hearing from himself.

I have, &c.,

H. Lowe.

No. 71.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe.

Sir, Downing Street, June 11, 1817.

Enclosed is a letter written by Colonel de Plunat, addressed to General Gourgaud, which you will have the goodness to transmit to him. It was delivered to me by Lord King. In directing you to deliver such shameless trash to one of those who are under your authority, I think it expedient to take this opportunity of explaining distinctly the principle on which I act on these occasions. Provided the letters, addressed either to General Buonaparte or the individuals who remain with him at St. Helena, contain no intelligence which can either directly or indirectly facilitate the General's escape, I shall not exercise any discretion with regard to transmitting them. I acted readily upon this principle in sending the letters written by some of his own family: they were written by women of his nearest connections; and I would on no account prevent his having the pleasure of hearing from them merely because they

contained some expressions not altogether free from objections. Although there is nothing to plead in favour of the letter I now send you, yet I have thought it most expedient to act upon the principle I have stated without any hesitation. It must not, however, be concluded from this that the same latitude is to be given to the correspondence from General Buonaparte or the individuals who remain with him. Whatever he or they may think fit to address either directly to the Prince Regent, or to me, or to any members of his Majesty's Government, your Excellency is aware must be transmitted home, provided it has been previously submitted for your perusal. In this particular you are left without any discretion; your knowledge of the contents affords you the opportunity of immediately vindicating yourself if the letter should contain matter of charge against you; and the assurance that whatever complaints they may make must be laid before the Prince Regent secures to them the best protection against any oppression. But the case is very different with respect to the letters which the General or the individuals who are with him may address to their friends. If these letters contain gross misrepresentations of their treatment, and are transmitted open by you to me, and are forwarded by me to the persons to whom they may be addressed, it may be the means of circulating the most unfounded calumnies against the British Government with its own privity and apparent acknowledgment; for it is neither for you nor for me, in transmitting such letters, to couple with them a refutation of the falsehoods which they may advance. In transmitting, therefore, to me the letters which the General and the individuals who are with him may address to their friends and relations, you are at liberty to use your own discretion in this particular. I am confident you will never exercise it severely; and, by apprising the persons in question of this instruction, you will, I hope, avoid the necessity of exercising any.

I have the honour, &c.,

BATHURST.

P.S. In justice to Lord King I ought to add that, in delivering to me the letter, he distinctly informed me that he was unaware of its contents.

No. 72.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe.

Dear Sir, Longwood, June 30, 1817.

On the 12th of this month I showed Mr. Maceroni's 'Interesting Facts respecting Joachim Murat' to General Bonaparte, who read the whole of it through in my presence, with some little assistance from me. In the course of the perusal he made some occasional remarks. With respect to Murat himself, he observed, "Non se piangera perche, era un traditore." Murat never had mentioned to him that he intended to defend his kingdom of Naples by force against him; neither had he ever told him (Murat) that his intentions were to take it from him, and unite it to Italy, to form one kingdom, making him Constable of the Empire in lieu thereof. He certainly made an instrument of Murat to answer grand projects which he had in view with respect to Italy, and intended to dispossess him of the Crown of Naples, but the time was not yet come; and, besides, he would have given him a suitable indemnification. Murat's letter to Maceroni was a most ridiculous one; his enterprise that of a madman; and "ha finito sua vita come un coglione." What had he to complain of the Emperor of Austria, who had behaved in the most generous manner to him—had offered him an asylum in his dominions, subject to no other restriction than that of not quitting it without his permission, which was right and necessary? What more, in God's name, could he have desired in the actual state of things? He himself would not have desired more in England. It was a return of good for evil: for Murat had endeavoured to do him all the mischief he could; had tried to deprive him of Italy; had published proclamations *da coglione* against him, tending to excite insurrections amongst the Italians; had attacked his troops without reason or judgment, like a madman; and had engaged in an expedition where his plans were so badly arranged that he never could succeed in uniting even his guard. A more liberal, generous offer than that made by the Emperor of Austria could not have been made by any power. "*Belle armée!*" said he; "*belle armée*, indeed; *armée di cazzo!* You know," said he, laughing, "what the Neapolitans are." Lord Exmouth,

he said, he thought had acted very fairly and honourably by candidly informing Murat that he could receive him on no other terms than that of surrendering himself a prisoner of war. He also observed that he did not believe the statement that Lord Exmouth offered 1000 louis for Murat's apprehension. Murat terminated his life like a madman: undertook an expedition, "*da coglione al fondo*," to invade Naples with two or three hundred Corsicans, at the time that it was occupied by about 20,000 Austrians; so that, if the Neapolitans had even been desirous to rise, they would have been afraid of doing so. He would be lamented by none; though, at the same time, he observed that he was free from that double treachery imputed to him—"Bisogna dir la verita." [9] Murat had not any correspondence with him, or had not acted in the underhand manner ascribed to him; that the papers which had been shown to prove that had been falsified. With respect to the assertion that the cavalry had been badly employed, and that the result would have been different had Murat commanded it, he observed that in that "non c'è mente disproposito." It was very probable. He could not be everywhere himself; and Murat was probably the best cavalry officer in the world. He would have given more impetuosity to the charge. There wanted but very little to gain the day—"enfoncer deux ou trois bataillons;" and in all probability Murat would have done that. He believed there were not to be found in the world two such officers as Murat for the cavalry and Drouot for the artillery. "Murat was a singular character. Four-and-twenty years ago, when he was a Captain, I took him for my Aide-de-Camp, and raised him to what he was. He loved, I may say rather adored, me. In my presence he was, as it were, struck with awe, and ready to fall at my feet. I did wrong ever to separate him from me, for without me he was nothing. He was with me a right arm. Tell Murat to attack and destroy five or six thousand men in such a direction—it was done in a moment. He was an *imbécile*, without judgment. I cannot conceive how so brave a man could be 'aussi lâche.' He was nowhere brave unless before the enemy; there his boiling courage carried him into the midst of them, covered with plumes and gold (couvert de pennes jusqu'à clocher), and he never returned without having his sabre stained with the blood of some slain by his own hand.

Take him in the cabinet, he was a poltroon, an *imbécile*, without judgment or decision—in the presence of the enemy, a chevalier à Don Quixote; there Ney and he were the bravest men I ever witnessed. Murat, however, was a much nobler character than Ney. Murat was a fine, generous, open fellow; Ney partook of the 'canaglia.' However strange it may be to say, Murat, though he loved me, did me more mischief than any other man ever did; particularly since his return from Elba, by attacking the Austrians contrary to my wish." *M. Joliclerc*, so well spoken of by Maceroni, who described him as so good and honourable a character, he observed was neither one nor the other: that certainly he was a man greatly attached to him; but that he was a "*birbante*," a man of the police. "You know," said he, laughing, "what kind of honour those gentry have." He concluded by observing that, notwithstanding M. Maceroni had made it appear that he (Maceroni) had acted like a man of honour (s'avesse comportato da uomo d'onore), yet still he suspected him to be nothing very good. 'Un intrigante—a mongrel Englishman, who, born in England, had an Italian name, is employed by Murat in Naples, afterwards by Fouché and by Metternich—knows everybody," said he, shaking his head, "*non ha l'aria di onesto uomo.* You may depend upon it that he is an intrigante, and very far from what he labours to make himself appear." I have the honour, &c.

BARRY E. O'MEARA.

No. 73.

À MONSIEUR LE COMTE BERTRAND.

Monsieur le Comte, Au Château à James Town, Juillet 2, 1817.

Le Contre-Amiral Plampin, qui va prendre le commandement-en-chef des forces navales dans ces mers, m'a témoigné son désir d'être présenté à Longwood. J'ai l'honneur de vous en prévenir, et en même tems de vous faire savoir que, comme Sir Pulteney Malcolm va prendre son congé demain, j'ai suggéré à l'Amiral Plampin de profiter de cette occasion pour aller se présenter avec lui. Si je ne propose pas de l'accompagner moi-même, comme j'ai fait à l'occasion de l'arrivée de l'Amiral Malcolm, je vous prie, Monsieur le Comte,

de faire connaître que ce n'est pas pour manquer aux égards que je suis appelé par mon devoir à témoigner à tous les parties, mais avec l'idée que la présentation de l'Amiral Plampin de la manière que j'ai indiquée, à laquelle il ne s'est pas refusé, sera trouvée sous tous les autres rapports la plus agréable. Si je me trompe cependant dans cette idée, j'ai à vous prier seulement de me le faire savoir, afin que je puisse me régler conformément.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

H. Lowe.

Longwood, ce 3 Juillet, 1817.

Le Comte Bertrand a l'honneur de faire ses compliments à Monsieur le Gouverneur. Il a reçu sa lettre d'hier soir. L'Empereur recevra aujourd'hui l'Amiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm et l'Amiral Plampin.

No. 74.

To Earl Bathurst, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, July 2, 1817.

As Lord Amherst, I considered, was likely to have the opportunity of one or more interviews with General Bonaparte, and as his public situation appeared to me to render him in a peculiar degree eligible for receiving any communication which General Bonaparte might feel averse to make to myself or through me respecting his situation in this island, I had no hesitation to acquaint his Lordship immediately after his arrival here that in his particular case (being the only one that has occurred since my arrival on this island that I have in any degree warranted) I should be most happy to dispense with the general rule of not allowing any complaint or representation whatever to be made known except through me, and at the same time I should be most happy to avail myself of his Lordship's presence in this island to introduce any amelioration into the situation of General Bonaparte which, upon conversation with him, it might appear advisable to admit, with all due regard at the same time to the measures necessary for the security of his person, and for the prevention of unauthorised communication with him. General Bonaparte protracted upon various grounds any occasion of a meeting with his Lordship until the

evening before his departure, when he entered most fully at length into every subject past and present respecting his situation on the island; not, apparently, with any view whatever of amelioration to be produced here, but solely to prefer complaints and represent his situation in the worst light possible at home, on all which Lord Amherst was specially requested to communicate with his Royal Highness the Prince Regent himself. His Lordship having made known to me the heads of the conversation General Bonaparte addressed to him, and asked my opinion as to any steps he might take on his arrival at home, I have taken the liberty to refer him to your Lordship, and wish to leave the detail of every circumstance stated in conversation by General Bonaparte, with any observations I have made upon them, entirely to him.

I have the honour, &c.,

H. Lowe.

To Sir Hudson Lowe.

Dear Sir, Montreal, Wednesday, October 2, 1822.

I am this morning favoured with your letter of the 1st inst., and, in compliance with your request, I proceed to answer shortly the questions which you put to me in your letter of the 24th of August.

P. 133.[1] I have no recollection of having delivered any opinion upon the subject of the bill. I have a distinct recollection of Bonaparte's intimating an intention of making me the bearer of his complaints in writing; and of his almost immediately afterwards withdrawing such intention. It is very possible that I may have promised to repeat to Government such parts of his representations as I should previously have communicated to Sir Hudson Lowe. It is impossible that I could have been *beaucoup frappé* at Bonaparte's communication respecting the prohibitions imposed upon him during his rides, Sir Hudson Lowe having already communicated to me the nature and extent of such prohibitions. I have no particular recollection of the expressions used in the latter part of the conversation.

[1] This and the succeeding paragraphs refer to pages in O'Meara's 'Voice from St. Helena' containing passages to which Sir Hudson Lowe had directed Lord Amherst's attention.

P. 239. I did not use the expression, nor anything like the expression, attributed to me in this conversation.

P. 116. I have no distinct recollection of any conversation having passed between Mr. O'Meara and myself; but it is totally impossible that I should ever have entertained the idea of seeing Bonaparte through any other intervention than that of the Governor.

I think I have thus adverted to all the points referred to in the first letter which I had the honour to receive from you. Any further information which I can give you, either by letter or by word of mouth, shall be cheerfully afforded.

I remain, &c.,
AMHERST.

No. 75.

À MONSIEUR LE COMTE BERTRAND.

Monsieur le Comte, Castle, ce 10 Juillet, 1817.

J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer les caisses qui sont venues à votre adresse de la Chine. Lorsque j'ai laissé chez vous la lettre qui les regarde, j'étais bien loin d'imaginer qu'elles pouvaient présenter en les ouvrant aucun motif pour en suspendre l'envoi: si j'agissais cependant en entière conformité aux réglemens établis, je devrais le faire; mais comme j'ai donné l'assurance que les caisses suivraient la lettre, il ne me reste aucun autre parti convenable dans une telle circonstance que de les envoyer et rendre compte des motifs à mon Gouvernement. Vous n'entrez certainement pas, Monsieur le Comte, pour rien dans cet affaire, et ce n'est que pour la clarté de mon propre procédé que je prends la liberté de vous adresser ce billet, regrettant de me trouver placé dans une situation qui m'oblige à le faire. J'ai l'honneur, &c.

H. LOWE.

No. 76.

À M. LE LIEUT.-GÉNÉRAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Longwood, ce 10 Juillet, 1817.

J'ai reçu les cinq caisses que vous avez pris la peine de m'envoyer, contenant un jeu d'échecs, une boîte de jetons,

et deux paniers à ouvrage en ivoire, envoyés de Canton par Mr. Elphinstone. L'Empereur a été surpris de voir dans votre lettre que vous pensiez que votre devoir était de ne pas remettre ces objets: *Si j'agissais*, dites vous, *en entière conformité aux réglemens établis, je devrais en suspendre l'envoi.* En ce cas, Monsieur, vous auriez fait une chose gracieuse de les retenir.

Mais à quoi cela s'applique-t-il?—est-ce à ce que ces objets ne sont pas arrivés par le canal du Ministère? Dans les restrictions du Ministre il est bien dit que les lettres doivent venir par son canal, mais non les objets d'habillement, les bustes, les meubles, &c. Nous avons constamment reçu du Cap beaucoup d'objets qui nous ont été envoyés. D'ailleurs Lord Bathurst dans son discours, et vous même dans une de vos lettres, vous avez rejeté, avec indignation, que des lettres venues par la poste ou par des occasions eussent été envoyées à Londres pour revenir dans ce pays. Cela ne peut ni n'a pu vous autoriser à retenir des objets tels que des bustes, des meubles, et tous autres effets qui n'ont aucun rapport avec la sûreté de la détention. Serait-ce parceque sur les jetons il y a une couronne? Mais il ne peut exister aucun réglement qui ne soit à notre connaissance; or il n'est pas à notre connaissance que nous ne puissions pas posséder un objet sur lequel il y a une couronne. Il faudrait donc aussi faire de nouveaux jeux de cartes, puisqu'il y a une couronne sur celles qu'on se procure. Le linge et le peu d'argenterie qui reste vont souvent à la ville et sont marqués d'une couronne. Mais de qui serait émané ce réglement que vous dites en vigueur? De votre Gouvernement, qui seul a par le bill le droit d'en faire? Votre Ministre a déclaré en plein Parlement qu'il n'avait été fait aucune restriction depuis celles qui avaient été imprimées et communiquées à l'Europe, qu'avait votre prédécesseur, et qu'il vous a remises. Il a ajouté que vous n'avez fait aucune restriction, mais seulement pris des mesures d'exécution; effectivement vous n'en avez pas le droit.

L'Empereur ne veut de grace de personne, et ne veut rien du caprice de qui que ce soit; mais il a le droit de connaître les restrictions qui lui sont imposées. Votre Gouvernement, le Parlement, et toutes les nations ont le même droit. Je vous prie donc, Monsieur, de nous communiquer ces nouvelles restrictions, et, s'il en existait de pareilles, elles seraient en contradiction avec l'assertion de Lord Bathurst, qu'elles ne doivent

avoir pour but que la sûreté de la détention. L'Empereur me charge de protester contre l'existence de toute restriction ou réglement qui ne lui aurait pas été légalement notifié avant son exécution. J'ai l'honneur, &c.

LE COMTE BERTRAND.

No. 77.

À MONSIEUR LE COMTE BERTRAND.

(Particulière.)

Monsieur le Comte, Plantation House, 25 Juillet, 1817.

Je crois être un devoir de précaution de vous expédier la Gazette ci-incluse, séparément des autres, de crainte qu'elle ne tombe premièrement sous les yeux de la Comtesse Bertrand. Un esprit fortifié contre tout événement verra l'article qu'elle contient avec sang froid; et comme vous devez en être finalement instruit, j'ai cru qu'il était mieux de vous le transmettre sans délai, pour éviter, autant qu'il est possible, la peine que la connaissance inattendue de l'arrêt du Gouvernement Français pourrait produire dans votre famille. C'est toujours avec une peine infinie que je deviens l'organe de sa communication, quant à vous personnellement comme à votre famille.

J'ai l'honnour, &c.

H. LOWE.

No. 78.

TO THE EARL BATHURST, K.G.

(Private.)

My Lord, St. Helena, July 27, 1817.

Having asked Dr. O'Meara to endeavour to ascertain from General Bonaparte the name of the person who had given him the information that I had prevented the man who brought the bust to this island from landing, he brought me a paper in reply, which I take the liberty to enclose a copy of. Dr. O'Meara informs me much worse (though I hardly see how this is possible) was repeated to Lord Amherst. Dr. O'Meara's conduct in charging himself with such a message to me has

excited my particular surprise and dissatisfaction: on this subject I may have to address your Lordship further. Many circumstances have conspired of late to inflame General Bonaparte's mind against me—your Lordship's speech in Parliament, the stings of which he ascribes in a great degree to my reports; the communication which I believe Sir Pulteney Malcolm made to Count Bertrand on the day of his departure, that he could not charge himself with messages to the Duke of Bedford and Lord Holland, and which would be of course attributed to me; and latterly the disappointment which General Bonaparte and all the Longwood establishment feel that I have not been willing to lend myself to their views and those of the Commissioners for private and unrestrained communication—motives it is true of a sufficiently vexatious nature, but which they ought not on reflection to ascribe to any other principle than that of my duty. To give satisfaction to all parties is in fact a task entirely above my power. Admiral Plampin does not seem disposed to interfere in any shape, but where he does it is to give support. With the Commissioners, though they find me in their way, I am on very fair terms, more so, as I apprehend, than they are reciprocally with each other: by not siding with any in particular I hope to continue so. The officers of General Bonaparte's establishment are, I believe, disposed to be quiet if he would suffer them to remain so, but Count Bertrand is much too ready an instrument in his hands, and has assumed of late much too lofty a tone to be suffered to continue in it. Of General Bonaparte himself, attacked as I am by him, I wish to say little. Count Bertrand's letters, which I believe are of his dictation—the message sent by Dr. O'Meara, and the use he made of his interview with Lord Amherst, show the disposition with which he is actuated; whilst his conduct in regard to the bust and the presents sent by Mr. Elphinstone shows that no act of attention proves satisfactory unless made with the sacrifice of some essential principle or precaution in the discharge of the duties I have to perform towards him. Much, however, of this arises from mistrust—total want of personal communication—and having no one near his person on whose statements and representations to him a full reliance can be placed.

I have the honour, &c.

H. Lowe.

No. 79.

LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE MARBLE BUST OF NAPOLEON'S SON SENT TO ST. HELENA.

A SIGNOR RADOVITCH.

Signior Filippo Radovitch, Londra, Gennaio 29, 1817.

Sapendo che siete di partenza per l' isola di S. Elena, approffitiamo di questa occasione favorevolissima per affidarvi il busto, Copia ritratto del figlio dell' Imperatore in marmo bianco sculto d' uno di più classici scultori d' Italia. Molto ci costo per potere attenere detto ritrattro a causa, che il figlio dell' Imperatore si tiene sempre ritirato dalla Corte di Vienna ma per buona sorte nella state scorsa essendo venuta l' Imperatrice Maria Luisa ai bagni in Livorno accompagnata dal di suo figlio, dopo molti impegni e maneggi ci venne fatto d' ottenere il permesso di togliere il ritratto di che ne furono fatti due busti; sono che lo ritenne l'Augusta di lui Madre, generosamente compensando l' artista, e l' altro l' abbiamo fatto passare alla casa in Londra ch' ora vi consegna, e che voi v' incaricherete di portare a St. Elena avendo la massima cura, di tenerlo relato ad ogni vista e di non annunziarlo alla Dogana che come un busto di marmo, e null' altro: arrivato poi che sarete a S. Elena voi dovete procurare di presentarlo al Sr. Conte Generale Bertrand, Gran Ciambellano dell' ex-Imperatore, il quale avrà il mezzo di farglielo presentare che non dubitiamo gli sarà cosa molto gradita, poi chè troverà in detto ritratto la vera immagine del di lui figlio come lo è esattamente tolto dalla mano maestra che ne ha fatto il ritratto. Voi, poi non dovete contrattare per il prezzo della statua, ma lasciare il compenso della premiera alla generosità dell' Imperatore.

Augurandovi felice viaggio, e simile ritorno, vi salutiamo con particolare amicizia. M. & G. BEAGGINI.

MIB. N. 1. } Marca della cassa contenente il busto.

P.S. Supposto che l' Imperatore volesse saperne da voi il prezzo, ne potete domandarne cento Luigi; costando a noi quasi egual somma, tanto per il compenso del classico artisto come per tutte le altre spese occorze per potere attenere questo intento.

PRO MEMORIA.

Una cassettina contenentè il ritratto del figlio dell' Imperatore Napoleone tolto dall' originale in Livorno trovandosi detto figlio in quella città coll' Imperatrice Maria Luisa ai bagni; procuravi di poterlo far presentare all' Imperatore a S. Helena per il canale del Conte Cavaliere della Legion d' Onore Francese il Sr. General Bertrand, Gran Ciambellano dell' ex-Imperatore.[1]

MIB.

No. 1.

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[1] TO SIGNOR RADOVITCH.—(Translation).

Signor Filippo Radovitch, London, January 19, 1817.

Knowing that you are about to sail for St. Helena, we profit by this most favourable opportunity to confide to your care a bust (copied from a portrait, of the son of the Emperor) in white marble, the work of one of the most classical sculptors of Italy. We have had much difficulty in getting the portrait, on account of the son of the Emperor living in so retired a manner at the Court of Vienna. Fortunately, however, the Empress Maria Louisa, having come last summer to the baths of Leghorn, accompanied by her son, we obtained, after much trouble and negotiation, permission to take the portrait, from which two busts were made. One was kept by his illustrious mother, who generously rewarded the artist, and the other sent to the house in London by which it is now consigned to you, who will take it to St. Helena. You will endeavour to give it to the Signor Conte Generale Bertrand, Grand Chamberlain of the ex-Emperor, to whom he will find means of presenting it; and to whom, we doubt not, it will afford much gratification, as he will recognise in it the faithful likeness of his son, so admirably taken by the clever artist who made the portrait. You are not to stipulate for any price for this bust, but will leave it to the generosity of the Emperor to refund our expenses. In wishing you a happy voyage and safe return, we salute you with particular friendship. M. & G. BEAGGINI.

M. I. B. } Marks on the case containing the bust.
N. I. }

P.S. Should the Emperor wish to know the price of the bust, you may ask 100 louis for it; such being about what it has cost us in remuneration to the talented artist and for other contingent expenses.

MEMORANDUM.

A little box, containing a portrait of the son of the Emperor Napoleon, copied from the original executed at Leghorn while he was at the baths there with his mother the Empress Maria Louisa. Endeavour to get it presented to the Emperor at St. Helena, through the Count, Knight of the French Legion of Honour, the Signor General Bertrand, Grand Chamberlain of the ex-Emperor.

To Earl Bathurst, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, June 8, 1817.

I do myself the honour to inform your Lordship that, by the licensed ship Baring, lately arrived at this island with stores, has been brought a package containing a marble bust of the son of Napoleon Bonaparte. It has come under the charge of an under officer of the ship, and the letters, of which copies are enclosed, contain all the information I have as yet been able to obtain regarding it. The man who brought them being sick in his bed, delirious, I have not yet decided what I shall do with the bust, but conceive it most probable I shall wait your Lordship's instructions regarding it.

I have the honour, &c.

H. Lowe.

À M. le Capitaine du Store-ship le Baring, en rade de St. Hélène.

Longwood, ce 16 Juin, 1817.

Je suis chargé, Monsieur, par l'Empereur de vous remercier du bonheur que vous lui avez procuré en lui apportant le buste de son fils. Je regrette que vous ne l'ayez pas accompagné vous-même à Longwood ; je vous prie de prendre la peine d'y venir. J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

Le Comte Bertrand.

To Count Bertrand.—(Translation.)

Monsieur le Comte, Plantation House, June 16, 1817.

As you appear to be in error respecting the person who was charged to bring the bust to this island, I think it my duty to inform you that it was placed aboard the ship unknown to the Captain, who, having heard of it during the voyage, informed me of it on his arrival here. I have consequently not forwarded the letter you have sent me, waiting for your determination.

I have the honour, &c.

H. Lowe.

To Sir Thomas Reade.

My dear Sir Thomas, Longwood, June 20, 1817.

I saw General Bonaparte yesterday evening, and, with as much force as I could muster, explained to him the falsity of the assertion that you had recommended that the bust of his son should be destroyed or thrown overboard. I mentioned to him that I had seen and had had some conversation with you, in presence of the Governor, upon the subject, and that you had assured me most solemnly, that, so far from having done so, you had immediately gone to the Governor, stating the circumstance of the statue's having arrived; and that you had said that, as the statue was made of marble, and consequently could not contain anything improper internally, you were of opinion that there could be no impropriety in sending it up directly, and had recommended it to be done; that if it had been made of composition, why then indeed there would need a little consideration. I added that you felt very much hurt at such a false and scandalous accusation, and concluded by asserting my own firm conviction that it was a calumny. He replied that he had heard the report a few days after the arrival of the ship "*leggermente;*" that at first he had not believed it, as he could not conceive there was any object in view; but that afterwards, finding there was so much delay in sending it up, he had believed the report. He added, "Si mette tanto di mistero negli affari semplici, that people are led to believe that there is something concealed which they are afraid should be known, and which makes others suspect that something bad is going on." He added, however, that since this explanation of mine, he did not *give any credit* to the report, and desired me to tell you so. Before I saw him Cipriani had also told him what you had said, and the Admiral had contradicted it to him. I told him that the delay in sending it up was caused by the man who brought it being so ill as to be unable to leave the ship; and that the Governor was anxious to see him, and get all the information possible from [him] concerning the business, prior to sending it up. I remain yours most truly,

Barry E. O'Meara.

I will be obliged to you for the 'Battle of Waterloo' you were so good as to promise me.

Your Honour, Ship Baring, St. Helena, June 23, 1817.

I have brought a bust of young Napoleon Bonaparte out from England to be presented to his father, if your Honour would allow me. The way I came by it: I happened to go into a gentleman's countinghouse, and saw this bust or miniature standing on his mantelpiece; I then wished I was coming here, and I would take it. This gentleman told me I might take it; and anything he would give me for it, I should have one half, and him the other half.[1] I asked Captain Lamb if he would speak to your Honour about it. I had a note and letter of recommendation, which I gave to Captain Lamb on the 30th of May. He told me he gave the letter to your Honour, and you would. On the 8th of June Captain Lamb told me that the box it was enclosed in went to your Honour's house. On the 9th I pulled it asunder to wash it, and examined it, so as nothing could be concealed in it; and on the 10th Captain Lamb told me there was a gentleman come on board for the box, so I delivered it to him.[2] Since that time I cannot get the least intelligence of it. I asked Captain Lamb if I could have permission to go on shore. He told me I could not; by your Honour's particular orders I could not. I am but a poor man; and have got some things to dispose of people in England trusted me with, and I do not know what to do with them. I have no knowledge of anything, only to try to make a few shillings of what I brought out, if I could so. I beg of your Honour's goodness if you would allow me the privilege of going on shore to try to dispose of my few things; and if I

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[1] As this account was obviously untrue, three interrogatories were put to Rethwick, which he thus answered upon oath:—"Have you read this Italian letter from M. Beaggini?"—"Yes; it was wrote and read before me in the countinghouse in London." "What was your object in stating in your letter the mode the bust was obtained?"—"To enable me to make the best bargain I could find for it." "How long had the bust been in London?"—"About two months before, I suppose."

[2] It is clear that Rethwick here makes some confusion in dates; for, if Captain Lamb told him on the *8th* that the box *had gone* to the Governor's house, he could not have told him on the 10*th* that a gentleman was then on board who had come for the box, to whom Rethwick delivered it. Most probably for "*went* to your Honour's house" Rethwick meant to say "*was to go*."

am guilty of any indiscretion or misconduct, I will willingly suffer any punishment your Honour might inflict. Now it is at your Honour's option to do as you think proper. I am your Honour's most obedient servant at command,

SAMUEL RETHERWICK.

The above-named Samuel Rethwick came before me this day, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists that the foregoing statement was the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

his
SAMUEL ⋈ RETHWICK.
mark.

Sworn before me this 2nd day of July, 1817,

H. LOWE.

In presence of

THOS. H. BROOKE, Sec. to Govt.

TO EARL BATHURST, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, June 19, 1817.

As the circumstance reported to your Lordship in the letter of which duplicate is enclosed,[1] of a bust of the son of Napoleon Bonaparte having been brought to this island on board the Baring storeship, had been publicly mentioned, and as I considered, on the whole, your Lordship would not be disposed to refuse to General Bonaparte the gratification which the possession of this bust might afford him, I resolved to wait upon Count Bertrand, and acquaint him of its arrival, showing him (as it referred to a price being paid for it) the Italian letter which accompanied it—acquainting him at the same time of the very irregular manner in which it had been brought to this island, and that it was upon my own responsibility alone (under the impression it might prove agreeable to General Bonaparte) I ventured to dispense with the observance of the established rules on the occasion. Count Bertrand said he had no doubt the bust would give great satisfaction, and I sent it up the following day. The box which contained it, and the bust itself, were previously examined, and nothing observed to

[1] Despatch dated June 8, 1817, p. 397, *ante*.

create any suspicion of a plot or intrigue further than what the letter regarding it may furnish conjecture for. The bust was about half the natural size, and had the cross of the Legion of Honour sculptured on it, and with the name of Napoleon François. The artist's name was not expressed, but it did not appear to me to be the work of a very superior one. Two days after I had sent it up to Count Bertrand I received a note from him, remarkable for its shortness, enclosing a letter to Captain Lamb, commander of the Baring, requesting him to come to Longwood to receive the "Emperor's" thanks for having brought it here. As Captain Lamb (who is a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy) knew nothing of the bust having been introduced on board his ship, I wrote an answer to Count Bertrand, mentioning this circumstance. Another note followed from him, begging the letter might still be sent. The short correspondence that ensued is contained in the annexed enclosure. The whole appears evidently the dictate of that jealous suspicion which marks the general proceeding at Longwood. I however allowed the note to go to Captain Lamb, who went to Count Bertrand's, and had to endure a long interrogatory from him without seeing General Bonaparte. He was hardly believed when he said that he had not himself taken charge of the bust. Was asked whether I had not intended to keep it back altogether, and spoken of breaking it to pieces. To all which Captain Lamb replied in the most proper manner, saying, that if I intended to keep it back I had only to mention my intention to him, when the bust would of course not have been landed. Count Bertrand then asked Captain Lamb if he could not see the person who brought the bust; to which he very properly replied that the man was sick, and that at all events he could do nothing without my directions. I am still uncertain whether he means to offer payment for it.

I have, &c.,
H. Lowe.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe.

Dear Sir, Longwood, July 2, 1817.

With respect to the information mentioned in the letter to Captain Poppleton which you are desirous of obtaining, I am

totally unable to furnish it to you, as, the day you communicated to Count Bertrand (10th June) that the article in question had arrived, General Bonaparte sent for me after you had gone, and asked me why I did not tell him of it prior to your having done so (after having first asked me whether I knew of it before, to which I replied in the affirmative). I answered, that, as I supposed every day it would be sent up, I had not thought necessary to anticipate it. He then said that he had known of it for several days, and known a great deal more about it than what had been mentioned by you to Bertrand.

With respect to the man Radovich, he said that he considered it as an insult, as it was unsought for upon his part; that the offer had come from you at Plantation House to Bertrand, who had declined speaking to the man there, as he had gone to Plantation House to pay a visit to Lord Amherst, and for no other purpose; that he conceived your having voluntarily made the offer, and afterwards having sent the man to Longwood with a restriction until then unknown or unemployed, as an insult. He also observed, that it made him suspect there was something bad and mysterious in it, which it was wished to conceal, and that the report of the breaking of the statue having been advised was not without foundation; and nothing I could say appeared to alter his opinion.

I have the honour, &c.,
B. E. O'MEARA.

[In consequence of some reports RETHWICK was again interrogated on oath on the 19th of July.]

Q. It has been reported that you suffered a loss in the sale of different articles you brought hither, in consequence of not being permitted to come on shore. To whom did you make this statement?—A. I never mentioned it to a single soul except to Captain Poppleton at Longwood. Madame Bertrand was in the room. I said to Captain Poppleton, "I wish I had nothing to do with this bust, because I had a few things I had brought for sale, and I was obliged to sell them on board instead of on shore."

Q. Were you not ill when you came here?—A. I was ill a week before I came here and two weeks after.

Q. How soon did you come on shore after you were well?—A. About seven days after I was well, when I wrote the Governor a letter, and three days afterwards I landed.

Q. After having landed and seen the Governor, had you any difficulty in selling your goods?—A. I sold the things before I had landed.

Q. What loss did you sustain on your investment?—A. The articles cost me about 115*l*. I might have gained about 20*l*. in selling them if I had brought them on shore instead of disposing of them on board.

his
(Marked) SAMUEL + RADOWICH.
mark.

THE DEPOSITION of CAPTAIN JOHN LAMB, Commander of the Ship Baring, taken before SIR HUDSON LOWE, his Majesty's principal Justice of the Peace in and for the Island of St. Helena:—

Q. Did you ever receive any order or message from me, or from any person acting in my name, or from any officer of my staff, directing anything whatever to be done with the bust you brought hither, until you received my directions to land it for the purpose of its being sent to Longwood?—A. Sir Thomas Reade, whom I informed of having the bust on board the day after I arrived here, recommended me to have it put in my cabin for security to prevent its being landed until the Governor gave directions concerning it. Those directions were to send it to the Castle, which was done accordingly a few days afterwards; the man who brought it having been ill of apoplexy and delirious, and therefore not able to give a correct account of it; his head was shaved during the time the bust was on board at this anchorage.

Q. It is unnecessary to ask you, after the above evidence, whether any directions were ever given you for breaking the bust to pieces; but you are required to state distinctly upon oath whether such directions, or intimation of any design or intention of that kind, were made known to you?—A. None.

Q. Have you ever heard such a report?—A. Yes; I think on the morning of my visit to Longwood Captain Poppleton mentioned that such a belief existed amongst the French people at Longwood, and Madame Bertrand inquired if it was not in-

tended to keep the bust from them. I replied that, if such an intention had existed, a notification from his Excellency would have been sufficient, and that, as such had not been given, I imagined the intention could not have existed.

Q. Had you heard the report of an intention to break the bust to pieces before you went to Longwood?—A. I believe not, because I was surprised on hearing it there.

Q. You have heard it spoken of elsewhere, then?—A. Yes; repeatedly since my visit to Longwood; but I certainly think I did not hear it before.

JOHN LAMB.

Sworn before me this 24th day of July, 1817.

H. LOWE.

In presence of THOMAS H. BROOKE,
Secretary to Government.

TO EARL BATHURST, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, July 3, 1817.

In reference to former communications respecting the bust of the son of Napoleon Bonaparte which was brought to this island, I do myself the honour to further inform your Lordship that the man who brought it, having recovered from his illness, addressed a letter to me, of which copy is enclosed. On the occasion of Count Bertrand's coming to my house to pay a visit to Lord Amherst, I directed the man to be in attendance, and told Count Bertrand he was there and might speak to him; but he said he would be obliged to me if I would send the man to Longwood. I sent the man that same day thither, with a note to Captain Poppleton, the orderly officer, saying he was to be admitted to speak to Count Bertrand, but desiring Captain Poppleton to be present at the interview between them. The man went, and I received the following morning a report from Captain Poppleton, of which copy is annexed.[1] His proceeding met my perfect approval, and, having sent to inquire from him as well as Dr. O'Meara re-

[1] Captain Poppleton's letter has been given in the text of the narrative.

specting the person who could have reported to General Bonaparte that it was projected to break the bust in pieces, I received an answer from Dr. O'Meara, of which copy is also annexed. Having again interrogated the man, he voluntarily consented to take oath before me of the truth of the relation he had given, and annexed to his letter, which is sworn to, are his answers to some questions put to him by me, given in the same solemn manner. The pretension of being admitted to speak privately to a foreign sailor, who came to this island under circumstances of much suspicion, does not, I feel persuaded, require any comment from me; but it shows the impossibility, more strongly almost than anything which has occurred since my arrival in this island, of establishing any medium by which I can reconcile the execution of my duty with the regards I have been instructed and am desirous to show to the individual.

I have the honour, &c.,

H. Lowe.

À Mr. Filippo Radovitch, Maître-Canonnier à bord du Baring.

J'ai reçu, Monsieur, le buste en marbre du petit Napoléon. Je l'ai remis à son père; il lui a fait le plus sensible plaisir. Je regrette que vous n'ayez pas pu venir nous voir, et nous donner quelques détails qui sont toujours intéressants pour un père, dans la situation des choses. Des lettres que vous avez envoyées il résulte que l'artiste évalue à cent livres sterling la valeur de son ouvrage. L'Empereur m'a ordonné de vous faire passer un bon de trois cent livres sterling; le surplus sera pour vous indemniser de la perte qu'il sait que vous avez éprouvée dans la vente de votre pacotille, n'ayant pu débarquer, et des tracasseries que vous a occasionnées cet événement pourtant bien simple, et que devait vous mériter de la considération de la part de tout homme sensible. Veuillez faire agréer les remerciements de l'Empereur aux personnes qui vous ont donné cet aimable commission. J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.,

Le Comte Bertrand.

P.S. Je vous prie de m'accuser réception de la lettre de charge ci-jointe.

Bertrand.

To General Count Bertrand.

Sir, Castle, James Town, July 26, 1817.

The letter you have enclosed to me for the foreigner named Radovitch, employed as a gunner on board the Baring store-ship, will be forwarded to the Secretary of State's office in London. The bill will proceed with the letter, but a certificate is given to the man in order that he or his agents may apply in London for it. On perusing the contents of this letter I have been struck with much surprise at the following paragraph: "Je regrette que vous n'ayez pas pu venir nous voir." I must beg to recall to your recollection that, pursuant to your own desire, expressed to me in the presence of Lord Amherst, this man, to whom *you now state your regret at his not being allowed to come and see you*, was permitted, on your asking it, to go to Longwood; that he was in your own house, and there spoke to the Countess Bertrand; that it was upon the information given in her presence the reflections you are the instrument of conveying on my line of proceeding, as Governor of this island, are founded; that no permission was ever asked subsequently either by himself or you for his again visiting you. I am further to observe that the information, given by the man himself, that he was not permitted to come on shore, is also incorrect; for, from the time he addressed a letter to me, stating the circumstances under which he came in possession of the bust, he was admitted to land, and has been frequently since ashore, enjoying a facility in this respect which no foreigner coming to this island of his station had before possessed. Viewing all the circumstances of this case, the calumniating reports and reflections to which it has given rise, and the letter you forwarded for the man, traducing the authority through which you addressed him, I shall state the whole particulars to my Government, that it may make its own reflections upon them. I think, at the same time, the occasion an appropriate one in discharge of my own duty for enclosing some extracts from my instructions, the purport of the two former of which has been already explained to General Bonaparte; and for that of the latter no opportunity has before presented itself.

I have the honour, &c.,

H. Lowe.

No. 80.

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.

Sir, Colonial Office, August 19, 1817.

I have received and laid before the Prince Regent your despatches of the dates and numbers specified in the margin. I am commanded by his Royal Highness to signify to you his approbation of your conduct in sending to General Buonaparte the bust of his son. The suspicious circumstances, however, under which it arrived at St. Helena, as detailed in your despatch, were sufficient to make you pause before you determined to transmit it to the General. Had the package contained anything less interesting to him in his private character as a father, the clandestine manner with which it appears to have been introduced on board the vessel would have been a sufficient reason for withholding the delivery of it at least for a much longer period.

The French ambassador has informed me that he had some intimation of its having been sent, but that he received the intelligence long after the sailing of the vessel. I am not disposed to participate in the apprehensions with which he has been impressed, that letters were conveyed within it. No doubt, however, can be entertained that attempts are making at clandestine communications, which will be much encouraged if it be once understood that your vigilance abates. The turbulent and seditious, in this as well as in every other country, look to the escape of General Buonaparte as that which would at once give life and activity to the revolutionary spirit which has been so long formidable to the best interests of Europe, and which they have all a common object in endeavouring to revive.

The manner in which General Buonaparte received your kindness and attention in the delivery of the bust, arriving, as he knew it did, contrary to the established regulations, and under circumstances so very suspicious, was by no means what you had a right to expect; but I confess to you that I begin not to regret as much as I did the ill return which is made to your acts of indulgence. It would certainly be much more gratifying to you, but possibly more dangerous to the due discharge of the

duty imposed upon you, if General Buonaparte accepted them in a very different manner.

You have, I am confident, too much generosity of mind to be provoked into harsh usage by the sullen and sour humour of a fallen leader; but you must have seen, as well as I, that his peculiar talent for cajolery will seduce very intelligent men from that strict line of conduct which I am sure they would otherwise have observed in all their communications with him.

You have judged right in transmitting to Longwood the different articles sent by the Duke of Bedford and Lord and Lady Holland, although they have not come by the regular channel. The sweetmeats to General Buonaparte, and the little presents to Madame Bertrand's children, were acts of kind and amiable attention, calculated to afford very harmless gratification.

I am not surprised that Lord Holland should have sent his own 'Life of Lopez,' choicely bound, to General Buonaparte; but the Latin inscription written within the book, and the Duke of Bedford's present of Robertson's historical works, which are in everybody's hands, and the care taken by his Grace that each volume should be marked as coming from him, can be considered in no other than a political light—as a testimony (at least uncalled for) of respect and admiration for the public life and character of General Buonaparte. Such flattering advances made by two British peers, each having held a distinguished office in the State, must have a sensible effect on the restless and aspiring temper of the individual to whom they were addressed, and may prevent him from reconciling himself to his present situation, by exciting visionary hopes, and exposing him to the anxiety of continued disappointment.

That General Buonaparte should wish to convey a gracious message to the Duke of Bedford and Lord Holland, in return for their spontaneous tributes of respect, is what might be expected, and the excuse was not very obvious for refusing to execute the commission;[1] but this reciprocation of compliments forms another objection to such transactions.

In order, therefore, to guard against the mischief which might arise if this description of intercourse were repeated and ex-

[1] Sir Pulteney Malcolm declined to convey Bonaparte's acknowledgments to the Duke of Bedford and Lord Holland.

tended, it may be expedient for you to lay down this rule—that, in those cases where you see no objection to transmit to General Buonaparte the articles which may be sent to him (and in this I do not wish you to be difficult), you will nevertheless take measures for withholding the names of those individuals who thus volunteer their demonstrations of admiration for his character and conduct. You will, however, by no means apply this rule to any articles which may come to General Buonaparte from his own relations: he has a strong claim upon their gratitude, and a natural one upon their affections. In them such attentions are creditable, and cannot but be soothing and consolatory to one in his situation. I have only to approve of your having withheld Cobbett's inflammatory papers, which were sent at the same time (to say the least of it), very inconsiderately, by Lord Holland. I have the honour, &c.

BATHURST.

No. 81.

To LIEUT.GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

Sir, Downing Street, London, August 25, 1817.

It has been represented to me that the state of the house at Longwood is such that it cannot be expected, without some considerable alteration or repair, to be for a much longer period a fit or convenient residence for General Buonaparte. It becomes therefore necessary that I should instruct you to ascertain, with as little delay as possible, how far this representation is correct, in order that the necessary measures may be taken for the repair or improvement of the building.

Should it appear to you, upon proper inquiry, that the repair of the building cannot be safely deferred, or that it will soon be necessary, as I am informed that it will, partially to rebuild it, you will draw up a statement of what is thought requisite to render it a comfortable residence, and accompany it with a plan of the additions and alterations which you propose to make, and which you will easily furnish from the plans sent out to you of the building originally proposed to be erected for his residence. In transmitting it officially to General Bertrand, for General Buonaparte's consideration and approval, you will acquaint him

that, in order to relieve General Buonaparte from the inconvenience of having workmen in the house, you are instructed to offer him the house of General Bertrand as a temporary residence, until the alterations and repairs are completed; making such other arrangement for the comfortable accommodation elsewhere of General Bertrand's family in the interim as the means at your disposal will admit. Should General Buonaparte suggest any alteration of the plan submitted to him, you will, as far as possible, attend in every respect to his suggestions; and, should he decline quitting the residence during the time that the repairs are going on, you will be careful to get them executed in such a manner as may expose him to the least possible inconvenience; but, in the event of his objecting to the repairs which are required, or refusing to express an opinion as to the plan transmitted to him, you will not on that account delay, from a regard to his present opinions, executing such repairs as may be necessary to render the residence comfortable, and to remove all possibility of future complaint on his part as to the dilapidated state in which the house assigned for his habitation has been permitted to fall.

In the event of the house appearing on inquiry to require no material repair, you will of course abstain from making any such proposition to General Bertrand on the subject until the state of the building shall appear to you to render such a measure necessary. I have, &c.

BATHURST.

No. 82.

To LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

Sir, Downing Street, August 26, 1817.

I have understood that Dr. O'Meara has intimated an intention of returning from St. Helena; and as I originally expressed to you, soon after your departure from this country, an anxious wish that he might not be permitted to remain about the person of General Buonaparte, I consider it not improbable that you may on that account feel less difficulty in giving your consent to any application which he may make for leave to return to England. I think it therefore right to apprise you

that, although I then wished that a person of his questionable character should not be placed in so confidential a situation, yet I cannot but feel now that his leaving General Buonaparte, after having been so long attached to his person, and become so perfectly acquainted with his temper, habits, and constitution, might be attended, in many points of view, with great inconvenience, and might be disagreeable even to the General himself. If, therefore, Dr. O'Meara should express any intention of returning to England, you will, to the utmost of your power, discourage such a proposal; and, in the event of his applying for leave, you will inform him that you cannot consent to his departure until you shall have received instructions on the subject from home.

If Dr. O'Meara had been persuaded by you to accept his present situation, he might perhaps have some ground of complaint at your declining an immediate compliance with his request to resign it; but as his attendance on General Buonaparte was his voluntary act, and as I was induced to sanction it in consequence of your representations in his favour, I do not consider that he can have any just reason to expect that he should be at liberty to withdraw from such a duty at the moment the most convenient to himself, without reference to the considerations which may render his stay in the island for a certain period an object of importance. I am, Sir, &c.

BATHURST.

No. 83.

To LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

Sir, Colonial Office, August 26, 1817.

Among the letters addressed by the attendants of General Buonaparte to their correspondents in Europe, and transmitted by you to this department, there is one from General Bertrand to Madame Ludekerke at Brussels which has excited Lord Bathurst's observation. The object of it is to secure, through the intervention of that lady, the purchase of the several political publications which have appeared in that city during the year 1816, and the monthly transmission of them to St. Helena. Although Lord Bathurst has no indisposition to gratify the

curiosity which General Bertrand may naturally be supposed to feel with respect to the state and feelings of the different political parties in France, yet his Lordship does not consider it necessary to General Bertrand's object, nor convenient on other grounds, to adopt the mode of communication which he has pointed out in his letter. Lord Bathurst has therefore forborne to transmit the letter in question, and has directed me to return to you the bill enclosed (which is only payable to Madame Ludekerke), in order to its being restored to General Bertrand. On the other hand, his Lordship has given directions for the monthly purchase, according to the direction in his letter, of the political pamphlets which have appeared in the year 1816, without reference to the party whose principles they may profess to support, and will take care that they shall be regularly transmitted to you for General Bertrand's use, with an account of the sums expended in the purchase of them, which sums may, from time to time, be repaid to you by General Bertrand in any manner the most convenient to himself.

I have the honour, &c.,

HENRY GOULBURN.

No. 84.

To LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

(Private and confidential.)

My dear General, Pulteney Heath, September 1, 1817.

As Sir Pulteney Malcolm has not, in any of his communications with me, referred to the differences which you state to have existed between you and him, I have neither begun the conversation with him, nor have I thought it necessary to open the cover which contained the correspondence which has taken place between you. You will judge of the disposition which he has on this subject when I tell you that, in his audience with the Prince Regent, he expressed himself in terms of great commendation of your conduct.

It must be expected that, as the number of persons arriving from St. Helena increases, and will be much augmented by the return of the two regiments from thence, many reports will be afloat concerning the treatment of General Buonaparte, and

there are many persons in this country who will give currency to any misrepresentation or exaggeration of the regulations which may be made concerning them, in order to impress upon the public the belief that the General is treated with an unnecessary severity of restraint.

I am confident that the spirit of all the existing regulations will be found on examination to be no more than what is expedient; but men are very apt to be carried away by some trifling instance of what they consider a hardship, and then become disposed to condemn in the gross the regulations which they would otherwise have approved. As Bonaparte's treatment will, therefore, be a subject on which the feelings of the public may be much practised, it will be better to reconsider the different complaints which have been made, in order to see whether the plausibility of some of them may not make it prudent to guard against their effect on the public by adopting some reasonable and slight modifications on the subject.

It is with this view I have sent you an instruction with regard to the General's house, which he appears to be anxious should continue indifferent, in order that its state may be represented as an unnecessary hardship, which it certainly would be if the delay on this point had not been one of his own contrivance.

You will also receive a private letter from Mr. Goulburn on the great inconvenience to which he is said to be exposed by the quantity of rats with which his house is infested. There is something so ludicrous in a fallen leader's complaint on such a subject, and is one so little in unison with the animal's alleged sagacity, that it is not a topic likely from choice to be brought forward as a grievance; but the number of these animals may amount to be a real one; and, although I have reason to believe that the increase is owing to the negligence of his servants, in which he is very willing to encourage them, yet it is fit on every account that the subject should be examined and a proper remedy applied.

Communications appear to have passed between the General and you, chiefly, I think, through Dr. O'Meara, respecting an extension of the limits within which he might range without being attended by a British officer; and it appears as if you had been willing to restore him to his original extent, with the exception of certain houses which you intended to prohibit him

from entering, but that this proposition had dropped in consequence of his not being satisfied with it. If you see no objection to allow him the proposed extension, his not being satisfied with it is no reason for suspending the relaxation any longer.

In notifying this, or any other modification of your rules, you had better confine it to a single communication of the fact, without accompanying it with any intimation of it being for the General's accommodation, as it will only provoke from him an answer that he considers it as no improvement, or possibly a representation that it is a grievance or an insult.

It is indeed desirable that you should avoid all lengthened correspondence with his followers. You do not meet on equal terms; for it would be unseemly in you to retort the impertinence to which they are naturally (. . . . .) inclined. There is evidently no hope of your reconciling them by explanations to the regulations you adopt, for the General sets off on the principle that you have no right to establish any restraints upon him, as you have, he says, no right to treat him as a prisoner.

You will, therefore, reserve for me the explanation which their representations may require, confining yourself in future to dry communications with his followers, without making any attempts to show the kindness, or explain the reason, of your conduct towards the General.

In a former letter I suggested to you that, if you had made any retrenchments on the expenses of his table short of what would in this country be considered as liberal, you will correct what your desire of not bringing unnecessary charges on the public may have induced you to adopt. It is not sufficient that he does not complain of what he has, but that it should not appear to others that in this particular there is any ground of complaint. There is no policy in depriving him of the pleasures of the table; and he ought to live as a British general officer would live who likes good living.

It will, I think, be desirable for you to send me an official account of the allowance of his table, as you will have settled it in the month of November or December; and also a general statement of the regulations in actual existence then, that I may be able to state them should it become necessary. I do not think there is any disposition here to complain of his being kept tight

(except in those who wish his escape), provided he is allowed to live well and is well lodged, and treated with the respect due to his misfortunes.

And you will always recollect that, for one man who would complain that his restrictions are too severe, there would be a thousand who would assert that they had been culpably relaxed if he were, by any chance, to escape. It only remains for me to assure you that in the manner in which you have conducted yourself you have shown a vigilance and a forbearance which are highly commendable. I am, &c.,

BATHURST.

No. 85.

To LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

Sir, Colonial Office, September 17, 1817.

I have had the honour to receive your despatches of the dates and numbers noted on the margin. You will proceed to make use of the materials which were sent out some time ago for constructing a residence for General Buonaparte, either by building a new house or by repairing and adding to the old one, as may appear to you most advisable under all the circumstances of the case. If there be any spot within the limits of Longwood which offers a situation more satisfactory to the General, as convenient in other respects, and equally adapted for the security of his person, you will cheerfully accede to any desire he may express that a new house should be erected there for him, provided the building a new house in such a situation shall not add materially to the expense of the edifice. But should he desire to have a house built without the limits of Longwood, so that he could not have the same liberty of taking exercise unattended by a British officer which he may now enjoy, you will not consent to such a proposition, for, if he complains of the restrictions now in force, he will then become much louder in his remonstrances, and he would not be sorry to place you in this dilemna, either to enforce restrictions which might appear harsh, or to allow him a latitude which might become in time favourable to his escape.

I need not remind you that a good supply of water is a very essential recommendation for the situation of any house, but is particularly so for the residence of General Buonaparte in the island of St. Helena, in consequence of the guard which it is necessary to mount for the security of his person. In building a new house, or in repairing and adding to the old, you will look, first, to the security of his person; secondly, to his comfort and accommodation; and lastly, to the expense. In calling your attention, however, in the last place to the expense, I by no means intend that considerations of economy should not have their due weight in governing your decisions on this subject; they should so far control your solicitude to attend to his wishes that the extent and accommodation of his residence should not exceed what a general officer of the highest military rank would be entitled to expect if he were to be lodged at the expense of the British Government.

As great delay and inconvenience has arisen from General Buonaparte having declined to give any explicit answers to the applications made to him on the subject of his house, you will make it to be clearly understood that your instructions to proceed on the building are peremptory. If therefore he shall decline giving any answer, or make any proposition which is in your judgment not admissible, you will not suspend the undertaking by any further reference home, but will proceed with all suitable despatch on the plan which appears to you the most eligible. I have the honour, &c.,

BATHURST.

No. 86.

To LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

Sir, Colonial Office, September 18, 1817.

Having had under my review the instructions orginally given to Sir George Cockburn with respect to the measures to be taken in the event of General Buonaparte's death, it appears to me that it is no longer necessary to enforce an observance of that part of them which requires, in the event of his death, that the body of General Buonaparte should be sent to this country

for interment. You will, therefore, in case of such an event, no longer consider this instruction as in force, but will take measures for burying General Buonaparte in St. Helena, with such military honours as would, under similar circumstances, be paid to a British general officer.

I have the honour, &c.

BATHURST.

No. 87.

À M. LE MARQUIS DE MONTGRAND, MAIRE DE LA VILLE DE MARSEILLE.

Monsieur le Marquis, À Ste. Hélène, Septembre 17, 1817.

Je viens de recevoir la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser en date du 2 Février par l'entremise de son Excellence le Marquis d'Osmond, m'annonçant l'envoi de l'urne que le Conseil Municipal de la ville de Marseille avait délibéré de m'offrir, conformément à celle présentée à l'Amiral Milord Exmouth dans le mois de Juillet, 1815.

J'ai reçu également l'expédition en forme, de la délibération du Conseil Municipal relative au don de cette urne. L'intérêt et l'importance que j'attache à la conservation d'un don si précieux, la gloire que je mets à le transmettre à mon fils et à ma famille, m'ont décidé de ne pas l'exposer aux risques d'un long trajet par mer, en le faisant venir immédiatement ici; mais je ne peux pas omettre l'occasion actuelle de vous prier, Monsieur le Marquis, de faire agréer au Conseil Municipal les sentimens de vive reconnaissance dont j'ai été pénétré en voyant ainsi gracieusement distinguer les services qu'avec mon très illustre collaborateur j'ai pu avoir le bonheur de leur rendre. Je n'oublierai jamais, de l'autre côté, l'accueil spontané, franc, et ouvert que la noble ville de Marseille nous a donné lorsque nous approchâmes de ses bords; ni je ne connais une source de souvenirs plus douce, plus pure, que de me rappeler cette confiance parfaite, entière—sans froid calcul d'aucun intérêt divers, que nous a de suite unis dans les mêmes vœux, dans les mêmes efforts; et où l'essor qui avait été pris par la ville de Marseille, avant que la lutte des armées eut rien décidé, sera toujours si glorieux pour son histoire. Vous m'avez rendu ce souvenir encore plus agréable, M. le Marquis, par l'obligeance en toute

façon avec laquelle vous m'avez communiqué les sentimens et l'acte du Conseil Municipal; et je vous prie d'être assuré de ma très-sincère reconnaissance.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

HUDSON LOWE, Lieutenant-Général.

No. 88.

To EARL BATHURST, K.C.B.

My Lord, St. Helena, September 17, 1817.

The following subject will hardly appear to require my intruding upon your Lordship's time with a particular report, except as indicative of the temper and disposition which prevail at Longwood, and of the extreme difficulty of giving satisfaction by any line whatever that can be pursued. In fact, complaint being the object, everything which can give food to it is most greedily sought after, and everything which tends to remove it as ungraciously received. In the month of May last, being the commencement of our winter season, Dr. O'Meara made known to me that complaints existed at Longwood as to the quantity of fuel for the use of the household, and begged an increase for the winter, which should consist of wood. As several objections exist against cutting down the timber of the island, and as brushwood does not answer the purpose for chamber fires, I fixed the increase should be in the quantity of coals; and, calculating upon that consumed in my own house, fixed double the quantity daily for that of Longwood, with the addition of three hundredweight of wood, also daily, to serve for the fire in General Bonaparte's own apartment. Major Gorrequer wrote a note to Dr. O'Meara which explained the principle on which the allowance was fixed. A copy is annexed. I heard nothing further on the subject, and conceived of course the quantity was found sufficient, and that the explanation in Major Gorrequer's note was quite satisfactory. On the 4th of September, Captain Blakeney, the orderly officer at Longwood, transmitted me two open letters—one addressed to Mr. Balcombe, the purveyor, the other to Mr. Barker, a contractor for fuel and forage on the island—signed by Cipri-

ani, General Bonaparte's maître-d'hôtel, but in the handwriting of Noverraz, another domestic, to whom General Bonaparte is frequently in the habit of dictating. Copies are annexed. I caused an immediate supply of wood to be sent to Longwood, but did not forward the letters, the contents of which, as written from a servant, appeared to be in every respect so extraordinary and improper, as well as so contrary to the actual truth. I immediately sent to Dr. O'Meara to ask if he had made known the contents of Major Gorrequer's note to him. He said he had made known the first part of it, but not the second, which I condemned, as it was that which explained the ground upon which the allowance had been made, as the explanation had been given to him for communication, and as I disapproved his substituting his own judgment in the place of mine by not giving it. I desired him to immediately return to take an opportunity of explaining it, and to write to Major Gorrequer what passed. I received in the mean time the following information from him. It was a rainy and blowing day, and, though there was abundance of coals, there was no wood in the house. Some *shelves* were *broken* down and *burnt*, and afterwards a *bedstead* brought down for the same purpose from one of the servant's apartments by Noverraz. General Bonaparte himself dictated the two letters, and then called for Cipriani to sign them. Cipriani, in coming out, expressed great concern to Dr. O'Meara that he should have been called upon to put his name to them; said he was afraid I might take it ill; that if Count Montholon had written them, and desired him to put his name to them, he would not have done it, but could not avoid it when General Bonaparte had ordered it. Major Gorrequer received an answer from Dr. O'Meara, of which I enclose a copy. It contains no argument whatever, either on the part of General Bonaparte or Count Montholon, which if made known in any degree whatever would not have been immediately attended to, nor expresses any want which I had not, so far as I became informed, provided for. The most remarkable part of Dr. O'Meara's letter is that which relates to Count Montholon, whose wants and demands for himself and his family are unceasing, who has obtained almost everything he has asked for, but whose airs and pretensions in every way have long ceased to excite any surprise. As instances of

the same difficulty in meeting the views of the persons who composed the Longwood establishment, I am further to mention that, having requested Captain Blakeney to acquaint Count Bertrand it was the time of the year when I transmitted to England the indent of provisions and table-stores for the island, and that if he could send the maître-d'hôtel to my secretary's office he would have an opportunity of putting down a list of any particular articles which he might require for the house, his answer was, "Je ne me mêle pas de ces choses-là." A suggestion having been made to me by Dr. O'Meara that General Bonaparte desired some improvements in the garden, and particularly that it should be dug up to be converted into a grass-plot, or sowed with barley or anything that might appear green, I directed the Company's gardener to go to Longwood to plan out what was necessary, fixed a regular gardener at the spot, and gave an additional number of men to work. As several unsightly weeds and shrubs were on the ground, I saw the necessity of their being dug up to have the spot properly levelled, as appeared to have been General Bonaparte's wish; but as the removal of any shrub whatever might expose him to observation in his walks, I conjectured he might possibly say, after it was done, I had removed them on purpose. Both Count Bertrand and Count Montholon were spoken to, to give some direction, but both declined offering any suggestion upon it, and the gardener has been left therefore to work on his own design. Having mentioned the repugnance of Cipriani, the maître-d'hôtel, to put his name to the two letters, it is right to state a circumstance still more strongly in his favour, which was only fully made known to me by Dr. O'Meara on the occasion of his giving me the other information, viz. that Santini, when he left this island, was charged with a copy of Count Montholon's letter, written *on silk*, and that Cipriani took it *away from him and destroyed it*. There appears to be little doubt but that Captain Piontkowski was the person who carried this letter to England. Madame Bertrand has said, to account for its becoming public, that Captain Piontkowski had it all by heart. His memory could hardly, however, have reached such extraordinary accuracy. General Bonaparte, in speaking of the publication of this letter to Dr. O'Meara, observed "it was very creditable to the British Government to allow of its being

printed; that such a thing could not have occurred under his government in France." I have the honour, &c.

H. Lowe.

No. 89.

On the 26th of September, 1817, Bonaparte, who was then unwell, sent for Mr. Balcombe, the purveyor, who thus related what passed, in a report to the Governor:—

"General Bonaparte sent for me from Madame Bertrand, to whom I had been just delivering a message from the Governor, saying that, as there were some silk stockings still remaining in the stores of the establishment, of those sent out from England for their use, if she or Madame Montholon wanted any, he would send them some. On my entering the room where General Bonaparte was, in company with General Bertrand, he inquired how my family did, and jocosely asked when my eldest daughter was to be married, as also my youngest. He then changed his countenance from a mild and rather a pleasant aspect to that of a man in a passion, and began by saying he was not well for want of exercise; that his legs were beginning to swell; that as long as the restrictions lasted he could not take exercise—he wished them taken off; he wanted carpets for his rooms; his bed-room was very much infested with rats. The people of England supposed he had a good house to live in. Longwood was a bad place for his residence; there was no shade from the sun; the road the Governor had made for his rides was without trees, and afforded no shelter from the sun. That what the Governor had told the Commissioners was not true. If he knew what articles were in the stores of the establishment, sent out by John Bull, and any person had orders to deliver them, he would ask for what he wanted. Had it not been for Las Cases letting him have money, he would have been very badly off. He also said he had the scurvy in the gums. He had been obliged to burn some of his furniture from the want of firewood. He desired me to mention what he had said to the Governor."

Upon Mr. Balcombe's report Sir Hudson Lowe made the following observations:—

"Soon after the arrival of the Adamant transport with stores from England for the use of General Bonaparte, the Governor called on Count Bertrand with a list of the principal part of the articles arrived on board of that ship, requesting he would make it known at Longwood House, and inform him what part of them would be acceptable either to General Bonaparte or to his officers, that they might in that case be sent up. Count Bertrand looked over the list, saying that the 'Emperor's' wardrobe was still sufficiently supplied, and that he required nothing for himself (Bertrand) of the kind. He, however, marked several articles (among them a fowling-piece), which he thought might at all events be sent up; there were other articles for purposes of toilette, which he also seemed to think might be useful to the 'Emperor.' The remainder would afford a choice perhaps, he observed, to the other officers of the establishment, but did not point out any other articles. Those marked by him were sent up immediately after to Longwood, accompanied by a list of the other things which would be supplied (on application) from the stores; this was, however, indignantly refused by Count Las Cases, who since said he did not wish to be borne 'sur le rôle' of those who caused any expense to the English Government. There was no general list of the furniture sent up to Longwood, as the Governor had received orders to dispose of what appeared superfluous; but the rooms occupied by General Bonaparte himself, as well as those of his officers, were, however, abundantly supplied with all they thought proper to demand, or which was conceived might be useful, even where no demand was made, and the rest remain in store. The following extract will show the sense Count Bertrand himself expressed of the Governor's attention on this point, viz.—'He felt much indebted to the Governor for his attention in having the house at Longwood prepared in the manner it was for his family, and for the furniture he had ordered into it, in which *il avait mis beaucoup de grace.*'"

No. 90.

À Sir Hudson Lowe.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Longwood, ce 30 Septembre, 1817.

J'ai fait connaître à l'Empereur que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de venir chez moi avant hier Dimanche, que vous m'avez dit qu'on vous avait donné des inquiétudes sur sa santé, et que cela étant attribué au défaut d'exercice, pourquoi il ne montait pas à cheval. J'ai eu l'honneur de vous répondre ce qui vous avait été dit en diverses circonstances, et j'ai l'honneur de vous réitérer aujourd'hui, que l'existence de l'Empereur, depuis six semaines surtout, est extrêmement douloureuse, que l'enflure des jambes va en augmentant tous les jours, que les symptômes de scorbut qui s'étaient fait remarquer aux gencives sont déjà tels qu'il y a presque constamment des douleurs aigues, que les gens de l'art attribuent cela au défaut d'exercice; que depuis le mois de Mai, 1816, c'est-à-dire depuis 17 ou 18 mois, l'Empereur n'est pas monté à cheval, n'est presque jamais sorti de son appartement que quelquefois et très rarement, lorsqu'il est venu à six toises de sa maison visiter ma femme; que vous savez parfaitement que ce qui a empêché et empêche l'Empereur de sortir sont vos restrictions du 9 Octobre, 1816, qui ont commencé à être mises à exécution six semaines après votre arrivée; que ces restrictions contiennent entre autres la défense d'écouter les personnes qu'on rencontre, de leur parler, et d'entrer dans aucune maison, ce qui lui a fait penser que votre intention était de le compromettre avec des sentinelles et d'outrager son caractère. Vous m'avez observé que vous avez supprimé cette partie des restrictions, ce qui est exact. L'Amiral Malcolm à son retour du Cap vous fit à ce sujet des observations, et vous vous décidâtes à les rapporter, ce que vous avez fait par votre lettre du 26 Décembre, 1816, trois mois après. Mais vous avez plusieurs fois entendu et vous vous croyez autorisé à les rétablir d'un moment à l'autre et toutes autres aussi déraisonnables. Les restrictions du 9 Octobre, 1816, contiennent d'autres parties tout aussi outrageantes, et qui ne sont pas rapportées: de nouvelles restrictions, que vous avez faites le 14 Mars, 1817, prescrivent de ne pas sortir de l'enceinte d'un chemin de 12 pieds de large. Il en résulterait donc que, si

l'Empereur sortait de ce chemin ou entrait dans une maison, les sentinelles pourraient lui tirer un coup de fusil. L'Empereur ne doit pas reconnaître un si ignoble traitement: plusieurs Anglais de distinction présents dans l'île, ou y ayant été de passage, ne connaissant pas les restrictions du 9 Octobre, 1816, et du 14 Mars, 1817, reprochaient à l'Empereur de sacrificer sa santé en ne sortant pas; mais aussitôt qu'ils les ont connues, ils ont changé d'avis et ont eux-mêmes déclaré qu'aucun homme d'honneur ne pouvait agir différemment, et que, sans avoir la prétention de se comparer à lui, dans une pareille situation ils agiraient de même. J'ai ajouté que, si vous vouliez consulter les officiers qui sont dans cette colonie, il n'en est pas un qui ne regardât les restrictions du 9 Octobre, 1816, et celle du 14 Mars, 1817, comme injustes, inutiles, et oppressives, et que tous, à la place de l'Empereur, feraient comme lui, et considéreraient une pareille faculté de sortir comme un empêchement absolu. J'ai eu également l'honneur de vous dire qu'aux termes du bill du parlement du 11 Avril, 1816, vous n'avez pas le droit de faire des restrictions; que le bill n'accorde ce droit qu'au Gouvernement, lequel ne le peut déléguer même à un de ses ministres, et à plus forte raison à un officier particulier; que Lord Bathurst dans son discours du mois de Mars à la Chambre des Pairs a déclaré que vous n'avez fait aucune restriction nouvelle, que toute sa correspondance avait été en faveur des détenus, et que vous aviez les mêmes instructions que votre prédécesseur; que votre prédécesseur avait adapté les restrictions du Gouvernement aux localités d'une manière si non convenable du moins tolérable; que les choses ont ainsi duré neuf mois, pendant lequel tems l'Empereur est sorti, a reçu même quelques officiers Anglais à sa table, et a eu quelquefois en société les officiers et les habitants de l'île; que cet ordre de choses n'a pas été changé par un acte du Gouvernement; que pendant ces neuf mois il n'y a eu aucun inconvénient, et que rien n'a pu vous autoriser à substituer à un ordre de choses raisonnable celui que vous avez établi; que l'Empereur sortirait, monterait à cheval, et reprendrait la même vie, si vous retablissiez les choses comme elles l'étaient au moment de votre arrivée; qu'à défaut de cela vous seriez responsable des résultats des restrictions du 9 Octobre, 1816, du 14 Mars, 1817, que vous n'aviez pas le droit de faire, et qui sont équivalentes pour l'Empereur à

un empêchement absolu de sortir de ses appartements. Vous m'avez dit, Monsieur, que la chambre de l'Empereur étant trop petite et la maison de Longwood tout à fait mauvaise, comme vous l'aviez déclaré à votre Gouvernement; et que l'Empereur ayant fait faire l'année dernière une tente parcequ'il n'avait aucune allée où il put se promener à l'ombre, vous proposiez d'établir une baraque de soldats en bois près de la maison, où l'Empereur pourrait se promener: je me suis chargé de lui faire connaître votre proposition: il a considéré cette offre comme une moquerie (ce sont ses propres mots), et analogue à la conduite qu'on tient avec lui depuis deux ans. Si la maison où il est est inconvenable, pourquoi l'y laisse-t-on depuis deux ans et ne lui donne-t-on pas une de celles qui existent dans l'île, situées au milieu des jardins, des arbres, de l'ombre, et de l'eau, et le laisse-t-on sur ce point inculte, exposé aux vents et n'ayant rien de ce qui peut contribuer à conserver la vie? L'Empereur a ajouté que cette cabane de soldat ne lui serait d'aucune utilité, qu'elle ne pourrait pas remédier à l'insalubrité de sa chambre à coucher, et ne lui donnerait que l'inconvénient d'avoir des ouvriers; que la promenade dans des bâtimens ne peut point entretenir la santé comme la promenade sous des arbres et en plein air; que c'est d'ailleurs l'exercice du cheval que les gens de l'art commandent. Qu'il me soit permis, Monsieur, de vous fair observer que, si vous ne supprimez pas les restrictions du 9 Octobre, 1816, et du 14 Mars, 1817, et que si vous ne rétablissez pas les choses au moins comme elles étaient du temps de l'Amiral, l'Empereur ne peut pas sortir. Il considère et considérera cette détermination comme une volonté de votre part de lui donner la mort. Il est entièrement à votre disposition; vous le faites mourir de maladie, vous pouvez le faire mourir de faim; ce serait un bienfait si vous le faisiez mourir d'un coup de fusil. Si vous réunissez les officiers de terre et de mer de ce pays et les principaux officiers de santé, il n'en est aucun qui ne vous dise que vos restrictions sont flétrissantes, et qu'un homme d'honneur doit mourir plutôt que de les reconnaître; qu'elles sont inutiles à la sûreté de la détention, qu'elles sont illégales; le texte du bill et le discours de votre Ministre ne peuvent à cet égard laisser aucun doute. Les officiers de santé vous diront qu'il n'y a plus de temps à perdre, que dans trois ou quatre semaines peut-être il ne sera

plus temps, et que, quoique le champ soit resté libre en Europe à la calomnie et aux libelles, cependant un cri d'indignation s'élévera dans tous les pays, car ils sont ici plusieurs centaines de Français, Anglais, et étrangers, qui témoigneront de tout ce qu'on a fait pour mettre fin à la vie de ce grand homme.

Je vous ai, Monsieur, toujours parlé dans ce sens, avec plus ou moins de force. Je ne vous en parlerai plus, car des dénégations, des subtilités, et des arguments sont fort inutiles. La question est dans ces deux mots: Voulez-vous ou non tuer l'Empereur? Si vous persistez dans votre conduite, vous aurez vous-même prononcé l'affirmative, et malheureusement le but sera probablement atteint après quelques mois d'agonie. Permettez qu'en finissant je réponde pour les officiers qui sont avec l'Empereur et pour moi à vos lettres des 25 et 26 Juillet dernier. Vous méconnaissez, Monsieur, notre caractère. Les menaces sont sans pouvoir sur nous. Depuis vingt ans nous avons bravé tout danger pour son service; en restant volontairement à Ste. Hélène dans l'horrible position où nous sommes et exposés aux plus étranges procédés, nous lui sacrifions plus que notre vie et celles de nos familles. Insensibles à vos insinuations et à vos menaces, nous continuerons à remplir notre devoir; et s'il était contre nous un sujet de plaintes près de votre Gouvernement, nous ne doutons pas que le Prince Régent, Lord Liverpool, et tant d'hommes estimables qui y siègent, ne sachent bien les apprécier. Ils savent les égards qui sont dus au saint ministère que nous remplissons; et eussions-nous à redouter des persécutions, nous suivrions notre devise—*Fais ce que dois, advienne que pourra.* J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.,

LE COMTE BERTRAND.

No. 91.

OBSERVATIONS by SIR HUDSON LOWE on the preceding LETTER, transmitted in a DESPATCH to EARL BATHURST, dated the 30th of December, 1817.[1]

There is an omission in the relation of the very first part of the conversation between Count Bertrand and myself, which may be considered as purposed. I called, it is true, to express

[1] The parts omitted have been already inserted in the narrative.

solicitude respecting the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health, and to tender any service and assistance in my power; but to make the offer in particular at the same time of the advice of Mr. Baxter, head of the medical establishment on this island, who came out for the express purpose of attending upon Napoleon during illness, and of whose talents he has generally expressed a very favourable opinion. Of this offer no acknowledgment whatever is made, nor is it in any way referred to. Napoleon Bonaparte never sees during indisposition any other medical person than Mr. O'Meara, whom he considers as his domestic surgeon, and Count Bertrand has never made any acknowledgment, whether to verbal or written communication, where other medical advice has been tendered. There is further an inaccuracy in the first part of the relation, not very material perhaps, only as it indicates that particular precision is not much considered, for it was Count Bertrand who was the speaker when General Bonaparte's illness was ascribed to want of exercise, and not me, and it was only when I found him ascribing his complaints to such cause that I asked the reason of his not taking exercise.

The following is an exact copy of a minute of the first part of the conversation:—

"The Governor, having called on Count Bertrand, accompanied by Sir Thomas Reade and Major Gorrequer, said to him he was sorry to hear 'qu'on était indisposé à Longwood.' He replied, 'Mais oui; voici déjà six semaines ou deux mois que l'Empereur se plaint: il a le scorbut aux gencives, et ses jambes sont même enflées.'. The Governor said he had not been informed of it more than two or three days, having only received the report of his illness since the 25th, and had in consequence come to see whether there was anything he could do which might be thought useful. He would have much pleasure in doing anything in his power which could prove agreeable and consistent with his instructions. It would give him great satisfaction if Dr. Baxter was consulted; he had a high opinion of his judgment and professional knowledge, and he was ready at all times to attend upon him whenever required. If he (Dr. Baxter) had not been oftener at Longwood, it was because it was not known how far it might be approved; but under the present circumstances of his indisposition having assumed a

serious appearance, he would feel great satisfaction if Dr. Baxter's advice was taken. Count Bertrand answered, 'Si l'Empereur avait désiré voir le Docteur Baxter, je pense bien qu'il l'aurait fait appeler, mais, comme vous savez, l'Empereur n'a guère eu recours aux médecins. . . L'Empereur a toujours été dans l'habitude de prendre beaucoup d'exercice; ici il ne sort point—et voilà dans le fait ce qui est cause de sa maladie.' The Governor said, 'Mais pourquoi n'en prend-t-il pas? il n'y a rien qui l'en empêche.'" Count Bertrand's argument upon the restrictions then follows.

The expressions underlined in the extract were uttered with the tone of a person who appeared not to have anticipated any remark on the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health, but who, having it made to him, gave it the lead in his conversation and built all that followed upon it. The impression I received from Count Bertrand's reply was, that Napoleon Bonaparte was not on the whole so ill as report had made him, and the same impression was participated by the officers who were with me.

The only "gens de l'art" whom Napoleon Bonaparte has seen is, as before stated, Mr. O'Meara; but Count Bertrand speaks, on this and other occasions, always in the plural number, without specification of names. The six weeks' illness was what I had been wholly uninformed of. Annexed is a detail of the mode in which his indisposition became reported to me.[1] No interdict whatever now exists against his or their entering houses, or conversing with the persons whom they may meet, unaccompanied by any British officer or authority whatever: not arising from any conviction that such an interdict (except in the presence of a British officer) is not necessary and expedient,—that circumstances may not render it advisable to establish some discretional rule for their observance, what houses they are to enter, and with whom they may freely converse and communicate, or, if attention is not given to this point, to insist upon the attendance of a British officer,—but in deference solely to the present very strong and extraordinary representations respecting the effect upon Napoleon Bonaparte's health, which has made me consider the sacrifice of the precau-

[1] As the detail alluded to is a long and tedious account, and possesses no interest now, it is omitted.

tions taken by the Regulations of the 9th of October and 14th of March as of minor consequence to the sufferings he might experience from disease, whilst his malady was stated to continue, and lie to persevere in his resolution of not stirring out until the Regulations complained of were rescinded. However, if on recovering a better state of health, and profiting of the extension given, I should discover any abuse to follow, I should feel myself perfectly justified on my own responsibility—viewing the instruction I possess not to suffer any communication whatever to take place except through my agency—in renewing the intimation given in the Regulation of the 9th of October (or establishing some check which might be tantamount), as it imposes no restraint against communication with any person whatsoever, or entering any house, if a British officer is even casually present; and only contains a check against any abuse of intercourse with those whose situation in life, views, or dispositions might be doubtful, and no means exist of observing the nature and object of the communications had with them.

Beyond these limits of twelve miles before spoken of it has been perfectly free to Napoleon Bonaparte, his officers and followers (comprehending even the whole extent of the island—the batteries and landing-places, or spots overlooking them, excepted), to ride or walk in any direction whatsoever, upon allowing a British officer to be in attendance. It is his predominant objection to comply with this rule under any form or shape whatever, whether of being attended by persons in authority, or taking the chance occasion of any visitor of rank to ride with him, that forms the whole and sole cause of all his complaints on this head. These regulations did not contain a prohibition ("défense") to speak or listen to the persons who are met with, nor to enter any house. They contained a request not to do so beyond what the ordinary forms of politeness may require (except in the presence of a British officer). The motive is explained above. The regulation was rescinded nine months before this letter of Count Bertrand was written to me. The sentries have no orders to interfere with Napoleon Bonaparte, whether they see him entering houses or otherwise; the caution was only to *himself* and *his officers*. It was not even made known to the troops that such a caution had been given. Napoleon Bonaparte, with his officers, object to any

"inspection directe ou publique," yet reject rules for their own guidance, whilst, if any are made public for the guidance of others, the ground lies equally open for complaint on the other side! Then why bring this forward again as matter of complaint? The alarm conceived lest the rule might be re-established, and the consciousness that cause had been given for it, with the natural objection to all check whatever upon communication, may however well account for the obloquy with which the rule has been attempted to be treated.

Admiral Malcolm did not make any particular observation to me on the subject of these regulations at his return from the Cape. It was not until some time after his return I had any particular conversation with him on the subject, when I found he considered the regulation in the same light they wished to view it at Longwood; but he could not suggest any means by which the same object would be attained if it was rescinded. As a proof how essential, notwithstanding, he considered the precautions in respect to communication, however he might differ as to the mode of enforcing them, I have only to refer to the orders given to the persons under his own authority, which Napoleon Bonaparte and the persons at Longwood could know nothing regarding. Sir P. Malcolm did not make known to me he had communication either with Napoleon Bonaparte or any persons of his family respecting these regulations; whenever he spoke of them it was as from himself. Count Bertrand has refused to make known through what channel he became informed Sir P. Malcolm had made any observation to me on the subject. I have not insinuated several times that I would re-establish this restriction, and that I thought myself authorised to do so, and to establish others equally unreasonable; but I told Count Bertrand, in reply to the first observation he ever made to me regarding them, that I did not want motives to re-establish them, and, with respect to the authority, I never suffered him to question it; his own conduct in different instances would furnish cause for it. During the time this regulation lasted, no communication whatever took place with any person who had not my full concurrence for it. After I had suppressed it, meetings occurred which could not have taken place without subjecting the individuals at Longwood, who had not observed the caution given in the regulation of the 9th of October, to be removed

from the island, if the rule had continued to exist. As these outrageously offending restrictions are not specified, it is not necessary to make any reply to the remark. For the due understanding of the new restriction, as it is called, of the 14th of March, I have only to refer to what is said in Article 9 of these observations, as to the space of about four miles within the twelve which there was a request not to traverse.

The road spoken of forms the boundary on one side; it could not of course be quitted on that side without exposure (if passing to any distance from it) to meet the sentries which formed the cordon, for it is to be observed they are all placed at such a distance from the road as not to offend the view by being too near, and are, as much as it is possible to do, even kept out of sight from it. On the other side of the road there are no sentries placed, and the supposition that any were likely to fire upon the persons who might quit it is a perfectly gratuitous one, for no such order was ever given, nor had the sentries any direction whatever to interfere. The caution was given to themselves, the same in this case as in the regulation of the 9th of October. It was never intended to impose an interdict upon quitting the road to any short distance either on one side or the other; but merely that the persons who frequented it should confine themselves to the general direction of the ridge on which it runs, and not enter the houses, which lie generally at some distance from it, or cross the almost impracticable ravines which lie between it and Longwood. Before Napoleon Bonaparte's arrival no practicable road whatever existed on this side. A new road has been expressly made for his accommodation, and there is no individual who has ever used it who must not confess it embraces one of the most level and open rides on the island, or who would ever think of quitting the direction of the road to enter into the ravines on either side, except he had some particular object in it. It is, besides, almost the only road on the island where a few trees do exist. Along the road, and at Longwood, there is more room to take exercise on horseback, under a certain degree of shade, than in any other part of the island. It is remarkable that the first article of the regulation of the 9th of October, which restricts the persons at Longwood to the road by Hutt's Gate to the Alarm-house, and grants no latitude for passing either to the right or left of that road, never

offered subject of particular remark, nor has the restriction to that road rendered exercise on it, whether on foot or on horseback, incompatible with the honour of the persons who have used it; but they have, on the contrary, particularly since the article of the same regulation cautioning them against communicating with persons except in the presence of a British officer was rescinded, very freely and unreservedly used it to communicate with persons who had not the Governor's authority for holding any intercourse with them; thus proving the expediency of the rule which had been before in practice, and showing the abuse which has sprung from its being rescinded; and if opportunities have been sometimes cautiously availed of, it has been upon no other ground, as I believe, than the apprehension of giving cause for the rule being again established.

The restrictions, as they are called, of the 14th of March, were merely a reply to Napoleon Bonaparte's observations on the regulations of the 9th of October; they stated a reserve upon the subject of the limits in the article most complained of, so that this article need not have been considered as final; I only wanted a guarantee. The arrival of a person of rank and distinction was soon after expected at the island,[1] through whom I was not without hopes to have arrived at some understanding on this and other points; but having happened to mention his name, it was immediately afterwards repeated to Napoleon Bonaparte, who refused to receive any visit from him until the last day of his stay on this island, and, as I had foreseen, perverted the opportunity then presented to charge him with the most slanderous abuse and misrepresentations of my conduct, desiring him to make known the same to Government on his arrival at home. No individual is here named; but in conversation with me Count Bertrand did specify that [the name?] of the distinguished person above spoken of. It is remarkable, however, that, though Napoleon Bonaparte spoke of the general matter of his complaints against me through him, and repeated some of the violent expressions he had made use of regarding me to him very shortly after his departure, he never mentioned any opinion offered in return until the present attempt was made to obtain a change in the restrictions. That distinguished person himself can best decide whether such opinions were

[1] Lord Amherst is the person here alluded to.

ever expressed as those attributed to him; and I may appeal with confidence at the same time to the sentiments he expressed to me, both as to the limits assigned to Napoleon Bonaparte at the time of his going round them with me, and the suppressed regulation of the 9th of October, had it continued to be acted upon. Had he expressed the sentiments ascribed to him to Napoleon Bonaparte, I am persuaded he would not have concealed them from me; and I should in such case have greedily embraced the opportunity to enter into a full and ample discussion upon the whole matter with him, and, if he really thought there was anything harsh or unnecessary in the regulations, done my utmost to meet his opinion on the subject.

It was stated as a reason Napoleon Bonaparte did not receive the above person until the last day of his stay here that he had been indisposed. He had been so to a certain degree, but he saw a captain of a ship and an inhabitant of the island who had gone up to visit Mr. O'Meara the day before. The master of the ship had a bust on board of Napoleon Bonaparte, which he was conveying out as a present from the late Lieutenant-Governor of the island to his brother at Batavia. This circumstance he made known at the time to Napoleon Bonaparte, and it may account for the audience to which he was so readily admitted, whilst the distinguished person to whom I have referred was kept another day in suspense if he would be received at all. The only English persons properly called of distinction present on this island have been Rear-Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm and Brigadier-General Sir George Bingham; the former is not here; the latter I have referred to—*vide* a reply from him, showing no sentiment was ever offered by him to Napoleon Bonaparte or any person of his suite on the subject. Having referred Sir George Bingham to Count Bertrand to inquire the names of some officers who had been stated by him to have been offering their opinions to Napoleon Bonaparte, Sir George Bingham could obtain no other answer from the Count than that "C'est l'affaire de l'Empereur." . . . . I did not say the room of the Emperor was too small, nor did I speak at all of any particular room in which he might have been lodging. I said I did not consider Longwood House in its present state a suitable residence for Napoleon Bonaparte, and had made a representation upon the matter to my Government.

Rooms, it is true, might have been added; but this he had objected to, and it was at all events only joining new parts to old, without regard to durability. In speaking of Longwood House, however, as not being a suitable residence, I considered only what I conceived to have been the intentions of my Government in sending out the materials to build a better house for him. To a person who had been accustomed to the high degree of splendour and conveniences which he had enjoyed, Longwood House might be considered as an indifferent residence; but it was still the best house on the island next to Plantation House, had been considerably enlarged, and had every species of furniture put into it that could be required for the accommodation of a person of any rank since the Lieutenant-Governor had lived in it. In expressing what I did respecting Longwood House, I consider myself to have shown a very marked attention towards Napoleon Bonaparte, for the house, notwithstanding its defects, is such as no gentleman could object to, nor any general officer think beneath his dignity to temporarily reside in. . . . . The proposal of calling a council of junior officers and of "officiers de santé," whose opinions are to be taken as to the manner in which the instructions of Government are to be executed, could only be contemplated by persons who wished to have things treated in the inverse of any established order. The only calumnies and libels I know of are those in this letter and that of Count Montholon. This defamatory attack I have particularly noticed in my reply to Count Bertrand himself. Count Bertrand addressed me personally on the subject two days before he wrote this letter, but in a tone of such declamation, irritation, and violence, as proved to me he was sensible of his arguments, and sought to make an impression by menace rather than reason. It will be best observed on whose side the "dénégation, subtilité, et argument" are most apparent. My correspondence with Count Bertrand since receiving this letter has been confined almost wholly to matters of fact or points of duty in which reply became unavoidable. I have sent no answer whatever to the arguments he brings forth in array against me in this letter, because he knows sufficiently I am acquainted with their futility,—that the object of them is to deceive others, and not to reason with me. The letters of the 25th and 26th of July have been subjects of

particular soreness to Count Bertrand, because he has made himself in them the instrument of conveying, in his own name, slanderous accusations against me, for which, notwithstanding they may have been the dictature of Napoleon Bonaparte himself, yet, as they are not expressed to be written by his direction, I have considered Count Bertrand as responsible. I have formed no mistaken notions of their character. The motives and principles of their attachment to Napoleon Bonaparte I never discuss; but it is the pretension upon all occasions to identify their situation with his, and to consider themselves as warranted in the most improper and disrespectful language, as well of the British Government as to the authorities it has placed here over them (because in moments of pungent vexation, sorrow, or disappointment, expressions of such nature may sometimes escape from Napoleon Bonaparte himself), that has drawn my attention towards them. I refer for a reply to this paragraph to what I have written to Count Bertrand himself. I close my remarks as Count Bertrand closes his,—"I shall do my duty happen what will."

H. Lowe.

No. 92.

To Lieut.-General Count Bertrand.

Sir, Plantation House, October 6, 1817.

In addition to the extract of instructions transmitted with my first letter of this date, I beg leave to enclose to you, more for your own consideration than that of Napoleon Bonaparte, to whom the communication might possibly in his present state of mind give disquiet or offence, an extract from the instructions given to Sir George Cockburn.

You will observe, Sir, how pointedly it is recommended to me that, in cases of indisposition, other medical assistance should be called in to him in addition to his own.[1] I had

[1] "If the General should be attacked with any serious indisposition, the Governor and the Admiral will each direct a medical person in whom they may have confidence to be in attendance on the General, in addition to his own medical assistance, and direct them severally to report daily on the state of his health."

already the honour to mention to you that Mr. Baxter, Deputy Inspector of Hospitals, and Head of the Medical Establishment on this island, was ready at all times, and desirous, to see him. Whatever may be the particular objections of Napoleon Bonaparte in respect to taking medicine, the opinion of a professional person of known experience and ability as to the nature of his disease, and the regimen or remedies which ought to be adopted for it, would appear calculated to afford some relief, if relief be really sought, and under this impression I have to express my earnest hope Mr. Baxter's opinion may be consulted.

I have the honour, &c.,

H. Lowe.

No. 93.

To Sir Hudson Lowe.

Sir, Longwood, October 8, 1817.

I have the honour to inform you that not much alteration has taken place in the state of General Bonaparte's health. He still feels a dull pain in the right side, farther back than before; his legs are rather less swelled. Yesterday, when I strongly urged to him the necessity of his taking exercise on horseback in order to promote healthy biliary action, and to excite the absorbent system, &c., and expressed my firm conviction that provided he put it in practice his complaint could be removed in the course of twelve or fifteen days, he expressed his coincidence with my opinion, but at the same time declared that, until matters were put upon the same footing they were previous to your arrival (or I think he said, equivalent) he would never stir out; that he considered all restrictions made since then as null, as the bill did not authorise anybody, saving His Majesty or his successors, to impose them; that the arrangement made by Sir George Cockburn having been approved of by Government since the bill was passed did away with all regulations made prior to it; that, therefore, he would never submit to any alterations unless he saw that they were ordered either by His Royal Highness the Prince Regent or the Privy Council, as otherwise he would have no guarantee that restrictions taken off to-day might not be laid on again to-

morrow; that he would only subject himself to caprice. In pursuance of the desire you expressed yesterday, Sir, to know what had been said upon the occasion, I have communicated to you the above. I have the honour, &c.,

B. E. O'Meara, Surgeon.

No. 94.

To Sir Hudson Lowe.

Sir, Longwood, October 15, 1817.

I have the honour to acquaint you that yesterday morning I was informed by Count Bertrand that he was directed by Napoleon Bonaparte to inform me that, having been given to understand I was in the habit of writing bulletins of the state of his health, either daily or at more distant periods, which bulletins would, in all probability, be sent to the Courts of Vienna and Petersburg, and perhaps, also, be published in the English newspapers, it was his desire, therefore, that in future such bulletins should be invariably shown to him (Napoleon Bonaparte) previous to being sent; that, also, as any person officiating as physician about him must necessarily possess some share of his confidence, he could not permit that in bulletins or reports drawn up by that person he should be styled otherwise than "l'Empereur Napoléon," as being called in them "General" by a person in my situation would appear to the sovereigns of the above-named states, and to Europe in general, as an acquiescence on his part to such a title, which he would sooner die than consent to; that, therefore, I must either submit the reports to him previous to their being sent, and in them style him "l'Empereur Napoléon," or not any, as otherwise he would not see me any more. He added that I had better acquaint you of it.

I replied to Count Bertrand that, with respect to the title of "l'Empereur Napoléon," it was wholly inadmissible; that as an Englishman I could not make use of an appellation disapproved of by my own Government; that I was willing to write "Napoleon," or "Napoleon Bonaparte;" and as to the rest, that I would submit the business to you. He answered that

"Napoleon" would not suffice, that the title of "l'Empereur" must be made use of.

Some time after this I saw Napoleon Bonaparte himself, and was informed by him that he had always supposed I was in the habit of making reports of the state of his health, particularly in cases of indisposition; that, however, as it was only a surmise of his, and he had no positive information, he had said nothing about it, nor would he have done so had it not been signified to him in a manner which left no doubts upon the subject; that some days back Captain De Gors, Aide-de-camp to the Marquis de Montchenu, had asked General Gourgaud how were his (Napoleon's) palpitations? which excited considerable surprise in General Gourgaud's mind, as he was ignorant of any such symptoms having taken place, and accordingly asked Captain De Gors what he meant, what palpitations? to which Captain De Gors replied, the palpitations mentioned in the bulletin of his health which was sent to the Commissioners,[1] and appeared surprised that General Gourgaud did not know that such a bulletin was sent by me to the Governor, and from him to the Commissioners; that, also, either Count Balmain or Baron Stürmer had asked a similar question to [of?] General Montholon, who likewise was ignorant of the existence of any such symptoms. He then asked me if it were true that I sent reports of his health? to which I replied in the affirmative; upon which he desired to see one of them, and, not conceiving myself authorised to refuse him, I showed him one of them.

On glancing over it he observed the words "General Bonaparte," and said that he would never consent to be so styled by any person attending him as physician; that as such, I must necessarily possess some share of his confidence, as otherwise I could not be acquainted with symptoms I described; that a physician was to the body what a priest was to the soul, a confessor, and that such confessions ought to be held equally sacred and inviolable as those confided to the minister of God, unless permission was granted to divulge them by the person from whom they were obtained; that, therefore, he insisted that, previous to any reports being made by me touching his health,

[1] Copies of O'Meara's reports of Bonaparte's health were sent to the foreign Commissioners by Lord Bathurst's orders.

I should submit such to his perusal and for his approbation; that, however, he did not mean to say that I should allow myself to be influenced by him to put down anything he liked; on the contrary, if I conceived any observation he made to be untrue I was not to insert it, but that I should not render any account of any symptoms which either delicacy or other motives might induce him to desire should be kept secret; that secrecy, as I must well know, was one of the most indispensable duties of my profession, and that the meanest soldier's consent should be obtained previous to writing a history of his complaint, to be published or otherwise made known; that were I to write any more reports without first obtaining his consent and submitting them to his perusal, at least as long as he had his senses, I would act the part of a spy and not that of a physician; that, morevover, seeing that my reports were transmitted to the allied Commissioners, and, doubtless, by them to their respective Courts, and probably would be published in the English newspapers, he could not allow reports to go from a person in my situation to France, where he was once sovereign, and to the Courts of Vienna and Petersburg, styling him "General," which would appear like an acquiescence or approval on his part of such a denomination, rather than do which he would prefer any death; that, therefore, he insisted upon my giving him the title of "l'Empereur Napoléon" in any such report as I might make for the future, and, also, that I should leave the original in either his or Count Bertrand's hands. Either this, or that I should not make any reports; and that I should give my word of honour to him that I would make no written reports of his health without submitting them to his perusal. If I did not think proper to consent to this he said that he would never see or consult me again as a physician; that the reason he did not see Dr. Baxter was in order to avoid having bulletins made of [him?]; that whenever he did see him he would first require him to pledge his word of honour to make no written reports of his health without obtaining his permission, and first showing them to him for his approval.

I replied that I thought I could style him Napoleon or Napoleon Bonaparte, or, perhaps, leave a blank space in the report, but that I conceived my making use of the title "l'Empereur" was entirely inadmissible, and to be impossible to be

complied with, considering the nation to which I belonged; and that, with respect to showing him the report, I would take directions thereupon from you.

He answered, No; the above appellation would not answer; that, if I wrote about his health from symptoms related by him in confidence to me, it must be by his consent, and he must be described in them [qu. the reports?] by the title which was applied to him by his own officers; that in my verbal reports he cared not what I or anybody else called him—Generale, Tiranno, Boja, or Bonaparte. I have the honour, &c.,

BARRY E. O'MEARA.

No. 95.

À MONSIEUR LE LIEUTENANT-GÉNÉRAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Excellence, Erdmansdorf, en Silésie, Octobre 17, 1817.

Au pied des montagnes sud-est, entre la Bohème et la Silésie, demeure, dans une vallée charmante, un homme qui vous est irrévocablement attaché, Monsieur le Gouverneur, et qui depuis cette mémorable campagne de 1814 a appris à apprécier vos vertus militaires et politiques, qui admire cette imperturbable constance dans les revers dont vous êtes honoré, et cette tenace adhérence à des principes politiques qui alors seuls pourraient mener à des résultats heureux. Mille et mille fois j'ai porté mes souvenirs dans cette vaste solitude de l'océan, et sur ce rocher intéressant sur lequel vous êtes le gardien du repos public de l'Europe. De votre vigilance et de votre force de caractère dépend notre salut; dès que vous vous relâchez de vos mesures de rigueur contre le plus rusé scélérat du monde, dès que vous permettriez à vos subalternes de lui accorder par une pitié mal entendue des faveurs, notre repos serait compromis, et les honnêtes gens en Europe s'abandonneraient à leurs anciennes inquiétudes. On m'a plusieurs fois questionné sur ce point, moi qu'on savait avoir l'honneur de vous connaître, et toujours j'ai répondu que je garantissais votre loyauté, votre sagacité, et votre vigilance. Comme moi, le plus dévoué de vos amis, je m'intéresse si fortement à votre bonheur, je vous envoie à travers des mers immenses la prière de vouloir bien m'informer de

l'état de votre santé, de vos jouissances, de vos peines, de votre félicité domestique, enfin de tout ce qui peut intéresser un ami. La solitude à laquelle vous êtes probablement condamné de temps à temps pourrait me devenir favorable en cela que, peut-être, vous condescendriez à vous prêter à mes vœux. Il n'augmenterait pas peu ma considération si je recevais une lettre du Gouverneur de Ste. Hélène. Le fameux manuscrit de Ste. Hélène a fait une sensation scandaleuse et dangereuse en Europe, surtout en France, où, quoiqu'il ait été supprimé, il a été lu dans toutes les coteries de Paris, et où même les femmes, au lieu de coucher avec leurs amants, ont employé leurs nuits à le copier. Beaucoup de gens éclairés sont de l'opinion que c'est l'usurpateur lui-même qui l'a écrit, parceque, quoiqu'il ne soit pas impossible d'imiter son style concentré et brûlant, il le serait tout-à-fait d'y mettre tout son caractère et toute son âme. La paix en France n'est pas rétablie ; les choses se sont même empirées. Tant qu'un soldat de Napoléon respirera, et tant qu'un commis de son administration ne sera pas ministre ou préfet, la tranquillité ne rentrera pas dans cette nation ambitieuse, cupide, et vindicative. Si Bonaparte mettait le pied sur le sol de la France, il règnerait plus absolument que jamais, et encore pourrait-il ébranler les fondemens de l'ancienne Europe. Tant qu'il est sous votre tutelle, les regards de la nation se portent sur le jeune Napoléon. L'été prochain les monarques s'aboucheront pour délibérer sur la question si l'armée d'occupation peut être retirée. En toute apparence elle sera décidée dans l'affirmative. Dès lors je ferai préparer mes équipages de campagne, car nos Français ne tarderont pas de se remuer, et de ce foyer de dissensions le feu s'étendra sur maints pays. Après la dernière paix de Paris le Roi m'avait nommé au commandement sur le Rhin. Je n'y ai siégé que huit mois, après lesquels, voulant me retirer des affaires et vivre avec mes enfans dans la campagne, j'ai donnée ma démission, qui fut enfin acceptée. J'avais passé l'hiver dernier sur ma terre, lorsque je fus de nouveau appelé dans le Conseil d'Etat. Je crus ne devoir pas refuser, et je me suis encore une fois jeté dans le tourbillon des affaires, et dans les inquiétudes d'une nouvelle création, car il n'est question de moindre chose que de régénérer nos finances, notre mode d'impôts, et de nous donner une constitution. Voilà de quoi pour y penser à deux

fois. Pendant nos vacances actuelles je passe encore mon temps sur ma terre, où je mène une vie délicieuse. Le plaisir de vous écrire y prend sa due part. Veuillez, Excellence, m'honorer de votre souvenir—moi, un compagnon d'armes, et un ami qui vous est attaché par tant de liens et qui vous a voué son entière estime.

LE GÉNÉRAL D'INFANTERIE COMTE DE GNEISENAU.

No. 96.

TO COUNT BERTRAND.

Plantation House, October 21, 1817.

The Governor has the honour to inform Count Bertrand that an opportunity will soon occur for forwarding to Europe the packet he sent to him on the 7th instant to the address of the Earl of Liverpool. He thinks it proper at the same time to acquaint him that, should this packet, as addressed to a member of the British Government, though not in that department which the instructions of Government and the Act of Parliament point out as the proper official channel to be resorted to, be sent to England in its present sealed state, and be found to contain any application or representation from Napoleon Bonaparte, regarding his situation on this island, it will be, as the Governor conceives, certainly referred back here for his observations; and he therefore begs Count Bertrand will acquaint Napoleon Bonaparte of this circumstance, that he may be rendered aware of the delay that may thus arise by his having deviated from the course pointed out by the instructions in his mode of transmitting it.

No. 97.

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Sir, Colonial Office, October 24, 1817.

I have had the honour of receiving your despatches to No. 86 inclusive, which have been duly laid before the Prince Regent.

As I observe from the statement contained in your despatch No. 84 that the expense of General Buonaparte's establishment exceeds 12,000*l.* per annum, and that the excess beyond that sum has, up to the date of that despatch, been defrayed from his own funds, I deem it necessary again to call your attention to that part of my despatch No. 15, of the 22nd November last, in which, in limiting the expense to 12,000*l.* a-year, I still left you at liberty to incur a further expenditure, should you consider it to be necessary for the comfort of General Buonaparte, and to repeat that, if you should consider the sum of 12,000*l.* a-year not to be adequate to maintain such an establishment as would be requisite for a General officer of distinction, you will have no difficulty in making what you deem to be a requisite addition; but, on the other hand, if the expenses which General Buonaparte has himself defrayed are beyond what on a liberal construction might be proper in a General officer of distinction, you will permit them, as heretofore, to be defrayed from his own funds.

Adverting to that part of your despatch No. 84 in which you state that, under the circumstances of the case, you have not thought it expedient to act upon the instructions which related to the money advanced by Las Cases to General Buonaparte, I have great pleasure in expressing to your Excellency my entire approbation of the sound discretion which you have exercised on that occasion. I have the honour to be, &c.,

BATHURST.

No. 98.

To LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Sir, Colonial Office, October 24, 1817.

I have received the honour of your Excellency's despatch marked "Private," of the 13th August, by H.M.S. Lyra.

Although I flatter myself that a former instruction relating to your future intercourse with General Buonaparte and his followers will tend to protect you in some measure from the rude assaults of General Bertrand's correspondence, yet, as you have expressed a desire to have some instruction on the line of conduct which you ought on such occasions to hold towards

him, I am unwilling to content myself with a simple reference to my former despatch.

Generally speaking, it is not desirable to send General Bertrand or any other of the followers of General Buonaparte from St. Helena. As General Buonaparte's society is now so confined as to make him sensibly feel any diminution of it, you may perhaps be able to keep the party in Longwood in some order by the threat of dismissing any of his followers who misconduct themselves; but I am strongly inclined to think you will find more advantage in the menace than in the execution of such a measure.

If General Bertrand enjoys any greater indulgences than the other followers of General Buonaparte, there is no reason why they should be continued to him should he render himself unworthy of such kindness. If he shall abuse the permission given to him of drawing for the interest of the money vested in his name in the British funds, or shall so misconduct himself as to make him undeserving of this permission, you will consider yourself authorised to discontinue it, reporting to me the grounds on which you have done so.

I would however advise you not to be too solicitous to repress the impertinence of his letters, or of any written from Longwood, as repeated instances of such attacks upon you will be always considered as the strongest evidence of the temperate exercise of your authority; nor could General Buonaparte or his followers have hit upon a better expedient of forfeiting that claim for compassion which his fate and their attachment might otherwise engender. You will never fail to transmit to me copies of such compositions. I have the honour, &c.,

BATHURST.

No. 99.

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL COUNT BERTRAND.

Sir, Plantation House, October 26, 1817.

Having taken into consideration the complaints that have been made against the situation of Longwood House, on account of the want of trees and shade in its immediate vicinity, I do myself the honour to inform you that I have obtained the

assent of Miss Mason to give up her house, which is one of the best situated in the island in this respect, for the use and accommodation of Napoleon Bonaparte, if he should please to accept it, during the summer months, or until a reply may arrive from my Government in respect to other accommodation for him.

With a desire also to offer a stronger inducement to him for taking horse exercise, I beg leave to acquaint you for his information, that if he should wish to extend his rides at any time to the westward of Hutt's Gate, and will please to make me previously acquainted in any way with his intention of going out in that direction, he will meet no obstacle to his proceeding (unaccompanied by a British officer) by such roads and to such an extent as, in the event of this offer proving agreeable to him, I will immediately cause to be pointed out to you.[1]

I have the honour, &c.

H. Lowe.

No. 100.

To Lieut.-General Count Bertrand.

Sir, Plantation House, October 26, 1817.

At the time of your having been required, conjointly with the officers and other persons who accompanied Napoleon Bonaparte to this island, to sign the declaration upon which your further residence here would be permitted, it was your particular desire to me I would deliver to you in writing the heads of the various Regulations to which you might be subject. I had on that occasion received some fresh instructions from my Government, of which a verbal communication was made to Napoleon Bonaparte himself; I had afterwards the honour to detail the most of these in a letter to you, and to accompany that letter with a paper containing the heads of some alterations in respect to the limits, and of other Regulations which, in pursuance of the instructions of my Government, and viewing the attempts that had been made to elude some of the established rules, I then thought it necessary to enforce.* The departure of

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* To this letter no answer was ever returned.

those persons whose attempts had been the most marked, combined with my desire to remove the objections which had been evinced by Napoleon Bonaparte himself at the mode to which I had recourse for obtaining an attention on *his* part, and that of the persons who had accompanied him hither, to some of the rules in force, so as to prevent the necessity of any interference whatever on *mine*, induced me to modify the Regulations I had delivered to you in a letter on the 26th of December, and to make a further change in them by a paper transmitted on the 5th of March, without however losing sight, in either case, of the main objects for which they had been framed.

The very urgent representations which have been since made to me, of the effects which some of the restraints still existing operate on the mind and health of Napoleon Bonaparte, in preventing him from availing himself of the real latitude which the Regulations in other respects so fully afford, have given rise to further communications on the same subject. To bring the result therefore under one point of view, I have now the honour to enclose a paper containing the heads of the principal Regulations in force, as I consider them to be at present established, and in which it is not my intention to make any alteration unless under circumstances altogether unforeseen, until they may meet the confirmation, the amendment, or the rejection of my Government, on whose instructions, however, they are already in every respect entirely founded.

The same attention will be expected, from the officers and other persons who accompanied Napoleon Bonaparte to this island, to the observance of these Regulations, as was required by the letter which was annexed to those of the 9th of October; and the same rule will apply to all points not expressed in the enclosed paper as was communicated to you in that letter, and referred to in mine of the 12th of October, 1816. In transmitting a copy of this paper to my Government, I shall not fail to make known all the arguments you have addressed to me, verbal as well as written, in abatement of the rules as they at present stand.

There is one point further on which you place me under the necessity of addressing you; it is, Sir, the constant use of the title of Emperor in all your communications to me, not to speak of the tone you always assume upon it. You dropped this title

in the declaration upon which your residence in this island was permitted, and I am compelled to observe to you, it is a contravention of the principle on which your signature to this declaration was required and given, to thus again employ it to me.

I have the honour, &c.

H. Lowe, Lieutenant-General.

No. 101.

To Sir Hudson Lowe.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Longwood, ce 27 Octobre, 1817.

Je réponds à vos lettres du 9 et 14 Octobre. Je ne puis que m'en rapporter à la mienne du 30 Septembre: depuis près d'un mois, que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous l'écrire, la santé de l'Empereur s'est fort détériorée.

Si vous adoptez le principe que toutes choses doivent être rétablies telles qu'elles étaient lors de votre arrivée, état de choses approuvé par votre Gouvernement, il sera facile dans un quart d'heure de constater, par vingt preuves écrites et vingt témoins, cet état de choses. Votre lettre du 21 de ce mois est relative au pli que je vous ai fait passer le 7 Octobre pour Lord Liverpool: ce pli est entre vos mains depuis vingt jours; il est donc la propriété de votre premier ministre.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

Le Comte Bertrand.

No. 102.

To Lieut.-General Count Bertrand.

Sir, Plantation House, October 29, 1817.

In addition to the extracts of instructions transmitted with my letter of the 6th instant, I beg leave to transcribe the following one from a letter addressed to me by Earl Bathurst, dated 26th of September, 1816; in which his Lordship, in reply to a statement from me of the complaint made by the residents at Longwood, "that they could not communicate with, or write notes to, persons on the island without my leave,"

directs me "not on any consideration to deviate from or alter the rules heretofore laid down with respect either to the transmission of letters or the communication between the residents at Longwood and the inhabitants of St. Helena; for though the Prince Regent is desirous of affording to General Buonaparte every reasonable indulgence not incompatible with his safe custody, yet His Royal Highness can never be induced, by a false idea of indulgence, to dispense with those regulations which are essential for the prevention of escape, and which are moreover as free as circumstances will admit from all vexatious interference."

I beg, Sir, the favour of your adding the above to the extracts referred to in my letter of the 6th instant, and have the honour, &c.

H. Lowe.

No. 103.

To Sir Hudson Lowe.

Sir, Longwood, October 29, 1817.

According to the directions contained in Major Gorrequer's letter of this date, I have the honour to inform you, Sir, that on the 27th of this month—when, in consequence of having heard from Marchand (the premier valet-de-chambre) that Napoleon Bonaparte had been very ill the preceding night, I proceeded to ask him some questions touching the state of his health—he interrupted me by asking whether I could give my word of honour to him in writing that I would never make any written bulletin of the state of his health without first obtaining his permission to do so, submitting the bulletin to him, and leaving the original in his possession; to which I replied that I could not presume to do so without first obtaining permission from you; that you had already, as I had signified to him, declared that no written reports would be asked without my previously making it known to him. After this he declined answering any of my medical questions.

Some days previous to this, when he objected *in toto* to written bulletins unless previously submitted to him, he said that as to verbal reports of the state of his health to you he

had no objections to offer, as he could not prevent a person from talking, and besides that they could not appear in print signed with my name, and moreover would be unknown to him. Neither had he any objection to my consulting Dr. Baxter upon the state of his health, provided it were done as it were from myself. That it was natural for one physician to consult with another.

I must beg leave to add, that the latter conversations were meant only for myself, and not intended by him to be communicated. I have, &c.

B. E. O'MEARA.

No. 104.

To LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Sir, St. Helena, October 29, 1817.

In answer to your inquiries whether it ever had come to my knowledge that Sir George Cockburn, during the time he was stationed on this island, and was charged with the custody of General Bonaparte, permitted any correspondence to pass between the persons resident on this island and those detained at Longwood, I have to state that I knew not of any such measure having been tolerated; had permission been granted, it would most probably have been notified to me; and I do not think, from the general tenor of the Rear-Admiral's conversations and behaviour, that such a liberty was ever allowed. I have the honour, &c.

G. R. BINGHAM, Brigadier-General.

No. 105.

To LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Sir, St. Helena, October 29, 1817.

On our first arrival at this island I went round the grounds at Longwood, with Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, to ascertain the best positions for placing picquets to form a cordon round that place; nearly the same situations

they now occupy were fixed on, and the picquets on the south side were for a short time drawn back at sunset to the outer enclosure on the wall round the wood; but as the number of men doing duty was very limited, and the extent to be guarded when he became better acquainted with it appearing greater than we had at first an idea of, it was impossible to form anything like a chain which could be at all serviceable after dark; having represented this to the Rear-Admiral, as well as the inconvenience to which the guards were subject on account of the necessity of either removing to tents, or allowing the guards to remain without cover, he agreed with me that, unless a greater number of picquets could be afforded, removing those already posted was useless, and he sanctioned the picquets remaining in the same stations by night as by day, and orders were given accordingly.

G. R. BINGHAM.

No. 106.

To SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Sir, St. Helena, October 29, 1817.

In answer to your inquiries relative to my knowledge of the intentions of Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn respecting the mode in which the house at Longwood was to be guarded after sunset, I beg leave to acquaint you that I have reason to know that he originally intended to have drawn a chain[1] round the wall of the wood at that time, which was to have been withdrawn at 9 o'clock when the sentries were posted round the house, and at first a few picquets were posted for that purpose; it was however immediately discovered that the limited number of men doing duty would not admit of this being carried into execution, and the project was on that account abandoned.

G. R. BINGHAM.

[1] It is perhaps hardly necessary to explain that a chain of posts is here meant, and not a literal chain.

No. 107.

To Sir Hudson Lowe.

Sir, St. Helena, October 29, 1817.

In compliance with your Excellency's orders, I have the honour of laying before you a detail of the state of health of Napoleon Bonaparte since the 25th of last month, about which period he became indisposed. Having deliberately examined Mr. O'Meara touching that subject, I am enabled to communicate to you the following particulars:—About the 25th September an œdematous swelling, which pitted upon pressure, was observed in the lower extremities of Napoleon Bonaparte, reaching somewhat above the ankles, attended occasionally with a sensation of pain, and which gradually increased until the 29th September. . . . . He has sleepless nights, and his appetite is considerably impaired. His gums also have a spongy look, and bleed upon the slightest touch. The symptoms of disease above enumerated indicate a scorbutic taint and also a tendency to dropsy. Napoleon Bonaparte has in his usual good health a remarkably slow pulse, seldom rising higher than 60 beats in a minute, is corpulent, and of a leucophlegmatic, lax, flabby habit; he leads a very sedentary inactive life, and indulges much too freely in the use of the warm bath, in which he frequently will remain for hours, and repeats it almost daily, which must tend to the general relaxation of the body, and adds to the sources of disease already existing.

A purge of crystals of tartar has been recommended, together with frictions of the extremities and the free use of the flesh-brush, the warm bath at the temperature of 102 or 104, a more copious proportion of pungent antiscorbutic vegetable food, and exercise on horseback. The mode of treatment here enjoined (with the exception of the warm bath) is perfectly consonant with my views of the treatment of his complaint. The warm bath I think unnecessary if not injurious in this complaint, and may, in conjunction with other debilitating causes, have operated in inducing disease. He evinces an insuperable aversion to all internal remedies, has refused the medicine prescribed for him, and observed that he had never in his life taken any. He

readily adopted the vegetable diet and the flesh-brush, but cannot be prevailed upon to take exercise.

Could he be induced to alter his inactive way of life, to adopt an invigorating regimen, and take regular exercise on horseback, there appears little doubt of his speedily recovering his sleep, appetite, and health. On the 1st October he complained of dull pain or uneasiness in the right side, in the region of the liver, accompanied with a similar sensation in the shoulder of the same side, neither of which were severe. His bowels being constipated may perhaps have occasioned this sensation. His antipathy to all internal remedies continues unabated. He complains of pain in the teeth and cheeks of the right side. His other complaints are stationary. The uneasiness in the side continued until the 4th October, when, after the use of a warm salt-water bath, he felt considerable relief. There is some enlargement of the right hypochondrium, but, from the degree of obesity of these parts, it is difficult to ascertain with any precision whether it arises from a swelling of the left lobe of the liver or not. Says that he suffered more acute pain than usual in the side during the night of the 3rd, but, after a free perspiration in the morning, felt much relieved. The tumefaction of the extremities is now somewhat abated, but extends rather higher up the leg, and is still attended with pain on pressure. The spongy bleeding state of the gums is also improved. He still complains of want of sleep. Has taken no medicine, and refuses to take exercise on horseback. October 3rd.—It has not yet been possible to ascertain whether the swelling of the side arises from enlargement of the liver; the pain continues the same, the gums improving; swelling of the extremities nearly stationary. October 6th.—He now feels relief from all his complaints, the swelling of the legs having abated, and also the pain of the side. October 7th.—Had a slight return of pain in the side, the legs are less swelled, and gums better. October 8th.—Pain of side has extended backwards, but has not increased. Less improving; has not taken any medicine. October 9th.—During the night says he was affected with palpitation of the heart, which has not returned since. Swelling of the legs less; uneasiness of side is stationary. October 10th.—The swelling of the legs is decreasing; has had no return of palpitation; pain

of side continues nearly the same. October 11th.—He complains of a somewhat acute pain under the right scapula, extending downwards to the side, and affecting in some degree his respiration. After the hot bath and perspiring freely these symptoms disappeared; has still sleepless nights. October 12th.—Complaints continue much as yesterday. October 13th.—Had a return of palpitation of the heart last night; sleeps badly; had a slight return of pain under the shoulder-blade, that of the side does not increase; the legs are considerably lessened, and the gums improved; he is much better on the whole.

October 30th.—He has thought proper since the 13th to withhold from Mr. O'Meara such information relative to his health as to enable him to make a report on the subject; but it has been ascertained that he has been improved in health since that time, the scorbutic symptoms having entirely disappeared, his appetite and sleep having returned; the swelling of the legs is gone; he walks out occasionally, and seems in better spirits. I have, &c.

A. Baxter.

No. 108.

To Earl Bathurst, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, October 30, 1817.

I have the honour to address your Lordship by this occasion the details of a very lengthened correspondence, as well as of several verbal communications, that have taken place between Count Bertrand and myself since my last reports, in respect to the regulations in force on this island for the custody of Napoleon Bonaparte, and the effect which some of the existing restraints is [are?] stated to operate on his health. The first intimation I had of the violence and irritation with which I was to be freshly attacked on this ground was from Mr. Balcombe, the purveyor, who waited upon Napoleon Bonaparte on the 26th September, at which time the swelling in his legs, mentioned in Mr. O'Meara's report of the 27th September, began to appear. I enclose to your Lordship a short detail of what passed with

Mr. Balcombe, who when he gave his first relation to me appeared much agitated at the sudden and, as he described it to me, quite horrific change in Napoleon Bonaparte's countenance when, after asking him some questions regarding his family, he addressed him on the subject of the restrictions he was under.

Mr. Balcombe was directed to relate to me what he said, but, not deeming the purveyor a proper channel for such communications, I resolved not to send any reply through him; at the same time I determined to weigh well what concessions I might be enabled to make in respect to his limits, or on any other point, and to do everything in my power that I could to remove in particular those restraints which prevented him from taking horse-exercise, as well as to add to his comforts as much as possible at Longwood. On the 27th September I received Mr. O'Meara's report, already transmitted to your Lordship, giving the first full account of his malady. On the next day, the 28th, I went to Longwood, accompanied by Sir Thomas Reade and Major Gorrequer. On my way thither I looked at the house of Miss Mason, which has more trees and shade near it than almost any other house on the island, resolved, as circumstances might lead, to make the offer of it for Napoleon Bonaparte's use, but did not at that time find her at home to make an arrangement regarding it. I was well aware that in waiting upon Count Bertrand I should be exposed to the real pain of hearing a passionate and irritating declamation, which must destroy the force of any argument he could have to offer me, and leave me no other alternative than to retort upon him with some violent expressions which might widen the misunderstandings already existing with Napoleon Bonaparte himself, or to confine myself simply to the communication of such points as admitted no discussion whatever between us. The marked discontent and almost purposed irritation in his manner is, in fact, such, that I was advised not to wait upon him, but resolved on my own part to say nothing but what was perfectly conciliatory and thoroughly well meant. I went prepared on this ground.

During the last summer Napoleon Bonaparte had found a certain convenience in a large tent erected in his garden, where he used to pass a great part of the heat of the day. This had been removed during the winter. It occurred to me, instead of a tent, to put up in his garden one of the temporary wooden

buildings sent out here for barracks, fitting it up in the style of the Knightsbridge houses, which I had every means in the island of doing in a neat and well-decorated manner. He would thus, in place of a tent, have had a well-ventilated gallery or saloon of about seventy feet long and twenty wide, to be placed in any part of his garden he liked. It would not have taken above a fortnight or three weeks to construct, and was all I could do in a short space of time and until your Lordship's instructions should arrive about the construction of a new house for him. This was the first proposal I meant to offer, and, if accepted, would have added more to his comfort during the summer months than could have been done by his removal to any other house on part of the island whatever, unless Plantation House (which I believe to be the great object of his desire) was relinquished to him.

I waited on Count Bertrand to make this offer: the conversation that ensued will be found in the notes taken by Major Gorrequer, of which copy is annexed. It occurred precisely as I had foreseen in respect to the language of Count Bertrand, the style of "Vous n'avez pas le droit," "L'Empereur parlera, sortira, verra, et entrera dans telles maisons qu'il voudra," &c., was not such as I could seriously enter into any reply to. I therefore confined myself to the principal communication I had to make. Two days afterwards I met Count Bertrand and asked him whether my offer had been accepted; he said he had told the Emperor of it, but he shrugged his shoulders and made no other reply. In the mean time I deliberated upon throwing open to Napoleon Bonaparte the whole of that part of his limits which lay between Longwood and the new road I had purposely made for facilitating his exercise on horseback on the side of Woody Ridge, and removing the restraint which he said prevented him from going out, by not making any request or laying any prohibition whatever against his entering the houses that lay within it—resolved, if I should find it necessary, to take some additional precautions with respect to the inhabitants themselves.

Your Lordship had, by your letter of the 7th of February, approved my making an arrangement of such a nature if his health should really require it, but did not see the necessity of extending it to his officers; and by a subsequent letter, dated

the 21st February, your Lordship had appeared to approve of what had been intermediately done. I was aware of a difficulty in making a distinction between him and his officers, if I threw open the limits in such a manner as to leave no restraint whatever operating upon their communication with the houses or the persons whom they might meet; however, I resolved to act in the first instance in exact conformity to your Lordship's instructions.

I addressed a letter to Count Bertrand, dated 2nd October, of which copy is annexed.[1] I had sent this letter from the town to Longwood, and on my return to the country found one from Count Bertrand dated 30th September, which had crossed it on the road. This letter professes to be a recapitulation of the conversation he addressed to me on the 28th September, but is intermixed with various observations not communicated to me at that time, and omits several others. Your Lordship will observe the differences on comparing this letter with the notes taken by Major Gorrequer, whose good memory, knowledge of the French language, and perfect accuracy in taking down any minutes of what passes on such occasions, I have every reason to be satisfied with. I did not fail to receive an answer to my communication of the 2nd October, which Count Bertrand acknowledged to have crossed his upon the road. He rejects the concession I had made as something more arbitrary than anything he had ever before complained of, and refers me to his letter of the 30th. I was perfectly aware he alluded to the exception against the officers, who, having signed a declaration that they were to be subject to the same restrictions as Napoleon Bonaparte himself, have thus a point of litigation wherever any indulgence is given to him. It was *possible* that mistakes of persons might arise, and to cut short, therefore, any objection against Napoleon Bonaparte's taking exercise on that ground, I resolved on throwing open the whole extent to the officers and attendants (who would have had the point litigated for them if the officers alone had been mentioned, whilst their conduct has always given less cause for restraint than that of their superiors, General Gourgaud alone excepted) as well as him. I therefore addressed a further letter to Count Bertrand,

[1] Vide p. 209, *ante*.

making known this additional concession; but having already assumed an initiative in the correspondence by my letter of the 2nd October, sent before Count Bertrand's of the 30th September had been received, I resolved to set aside the whole principle of the arguments attempted to be urged in that letter, and to act entirely according to the impulse of what I had myself commenced to address him upon. I received a further letter from Count Bertrand, dated the 5th October, in which he refers me again to his of the 30th. I replied to him again on the 6th, announcing my determination not to be influenced by any consideration whatever to remove the sentries placed after dark, nor to desist from making such regulations as I might find necessary for enforcing your Lordship's instructions in preventing the communication of any persons unknown to me. Under the impression, however, it might abate from the great displeasure felt at the regulation being supposed wholly to have sprung from me, I accompanied this letter with some extracts from your Lordship's instructions, of which copies will be found annexed, not as deeming it necessary to justify any of the regulations that were in force, but merely to obviate cavil that might otherwise arise. I at the same time transmitted a separate letter to Count Bertrand, suggesting the expediency of Napoleon Bonaparte's receiving other medical advice, referring in this case to the last paragraph but one of your Lordship's instructions to Sir George Cockburn.

The day after I despatched this letter, the 7th October, Count Bertrand transmitted to me a packet to the address of the Earl of Liverpool, and on the same day I received another letter from him with the reflections of Napoleon Bonaparte himself, and his own observations on my determination. This letter had no other effect upon me than to excite my real solicitude to remove every restraint I could compatible with the determination I had before expressed. Correspondence only lengthened the means of obtaining such an end; and though I felt it as humiliating and repugnant to every feeling I possessed to again wait upon Count Bertrand after his letter of the 30th, I determined, notwithstanding, to allow no consideration of personal delicacy whatever to interfere with what I might be enabled to do in respect to Napoleon Bonaparte himself, but to call upon Count Bertrand, and to have another verbal commu-

nication with him, carrying with me a memorandum stating all the concessions I felt myself justified to make, leaving the paper afterwards with him for Napoleon Bonaparte's own deliberation. A detail of the conversation that passed and copy of my memorandum is annexed.

The following day Count Bertrand signified his desire to see Major Gorrequer, who waited upon him. A detail of the conversation accompanies. It was my intention to have sent Major Gorrequer again to him, but he became seriously indisposed and was unable to go. I therefore, not to lose time, waited myself upon Count Bertrand, and enclose another detail of conversation that passed between us. On this occasion I had taken Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard with me. The next day Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard was sent for, and a detail of his conversation is annexed. The day after I sent my definitive remarks to the propositions which Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard brought. These produced no reply; but in order that no doubt might remain as to the memorandums and notes I had given in being definitive, I desired Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard to again call on Count Bertrand and clearly explain this to him. I was now left to reply at more leisure to the gross misstatements, as well as the defamatory calumnies and insinuations, contained in Count Bertrand's letter to me of the 30th September, if I condescended to engage in a discussion with him upon them, or to address such a letter to him as should wind up all that I had myself done or proposed to do in respect to the alteration of the limits and other points, and communicate the same to him in an official form. I resolved on the latter course, and addressed a letter to him, dated 26th October, communicating to him the regulations in force on the island as they actually stand, and acquainting him of my determination not to alter them without instructions from my Government. I accompanied this letter with another of the same date, proposing for Napoleon Bonaparte's use the house of Miss Mason (which is within his limits) during the summer months, and offering him at the same time a facility in taking exercise to a certain extent beyond his present limits unaccompanied by a British officer, provided he gave such previous intimation as might enable me to make some arrangements for observation of him; whilst, without omitting, however, the mention of the object for which the intimation was

requested to be given in my letter to Count Bertrand, to meet his ideas of being apparently left more free, I was the more induced to offer some enlargement to him in this respect from perusal of the latter paragraph of your Lordship's letter to me of the 13th May, which I had just then received, as well as from knowing it ought to be the better received in springing from a voluntary act on my part, and not drawn from me by the force of any application on theirs.

Whilst despatching these letters I received a further one from Count Bertrand, dated 27th October,[1] which, together with my reply to it, is annexed. I have merely in this report to your Lordship recapitulated the occurrences of my correspondence and communications, without breaking the thread of them by any particular comments or reflections from myself: the letters themselves, in fact, are full, and render it in a great degree unnecessary, but whatever explanation they may appear to demand I must unavoidably defer from want of time at present to the occasion when I may transmit the duplication.

I have the honour, &c.

H. Lowe.

No. 109.

To Earl Bathurst, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, October 31, 1817.

I do myself the honour to enclose to your Lordship a series of reports, or bulletins, received from Mr. O'Meara, regarding the state of health of Napoleon Bonaparte, up to the 13th instant, together with a duplicate of the last one transmitted, dated 29th September. The reports of the 1st and 4th instant having appeared to me unusually and unnecessarily long, containing repetitions besides of what former bulletins had expressed, I directed Mr. O'Meara to compress their substance into one dated 5th instant (that of the 10th excepted), and have delivered a copy of that, with the bulletins that followed, to the Austrian, Russian, and French Commissioners. I have the honour to enclose further a report from Mr. O'Meara, dated

[1] Vide p. 220, *ante*.

8th of October, in which is stated the opinion he gave to Napoleon Bonaparte of the cause of his malady, and of the ready means he possessed in his own power for obtaining an almost immediate cure, to which the assent of Napoleon Bonaparte himself, as to the effect likely to result from his following Mr. O'Meara's advice, is also expressed. The arguments offered by him for his not taking horse exercise, according to the opinion given to him, are, at the same time, fully stated. The matter of them was however so blended with the medical report, and the introduction of them appearing almost purposely designed to provoke political discussion in respect to the measures taken for the security of Napoleon Bonaparte's person, I resolved not to deliver a copy of this report to the Commissioners, but to ask from Mr. O'Meara a more concise one of the opinion given by him, the sentiment expressed upon it by Napoleon Bonaparte, and the leading ground of his objection to follow Mr. O'Meara's opinion, with the contents of which I have made the Commissioners fully acquainted.

Some days after I was waited upon by Mr. O'Meara, with information that Napoleon Bonaparte had laid him under an interdict of furnishing me with any more bulletins, unless they were previously shown to him, the original left in his possession, or that of Count Bertrand, and that Mr. O'Meara, in speaking of his person, should give him the title of Emperor.

I have the honour to enclose copy of a report which I begged Mr. O'Meara to make to me on this occasion. I directed him verbally to acquaint Napoleon Bonaparte I could receive no bulletin which gave the Imperial title; that in other respects I was not immediately aware of any objection to his seeing the bulletins delivered to me; but that it was a subject upon which I wished not at present to give any definite answer. Mr. O'Meara, after some further conferences with Napoleon Bonaparte, acquainted me he had been asked to give his word of honour not to deliver any written bulletins to me without their being shown to him, but that he (Napoleon Bonaparte) had no objection to his giving me any verbal information I might require respecting the state of his health, saying (in order, as I presume, to prevent my insisting upon receiving bulletins except under the forms he desired), "Questa è una tornura, per cacciarmi il soccorse della medicina, per arrivare piu presto al fine."

He declined, while awaiting a further answer from me, to give any information to Mr. O'Meara respecting the state of his health, or to answer any question whatever regarding it. I immediately desired Mr. O'Meara to inform him I should not desire any bulletins to be delivered me without previously directing him to acquaint Napoleon Bonaparte of it. Mr. O'Meara was particularly solicitous I would tell him whether, if bulletins were required, they were to be shown to him. It was time enough, I told him, to make known this when the bulletins were required; so long as no bulletins were asked for there could no question arise whether they were or were not to be shown. Mr. O'Meara had a further conference with Napoleon Bonaparte, of which, as well as of what occurred in the preceding one, he has presented me with some details in a letter of which copy is annexed. He was, I am informed, upwards of two hours with him upon this occasion.

Whilst awaiting the result of any further conversations between him and Napoleon Bonaparte, I have directed Mr. O'Meara to report verbally to Mr. Baxter everything he can learn respecting the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health, and shall in future refer your Lordship to such reports as Mr. Baxter may present to me, deeming this on the whole a better method to come at a real knowledge of Napoleon Bonaparte's complaints than from bulletins which must be always shown to him, and which admit not the previous inspection or examination of any other medical authority.

As no bulletins are required from Mr. O'Meara, Napoleon Bonaparte has no pretext for not asking his advice. It is rather, however, perhaps, his desire bulletins should be asked for if they are shown to him. On this point I beg leave to request the honour of your Lordship's instruction.

I shall exceedingly regret if I have in any respect underrated, or appear to have underrated, the degree of malady or indisposition with which Napoleon Bonaparte is affected; but, with no other source of information on the subject than the letters of Count Bertrand and bulletins written by the person who is considered as his own surgeon, which are to be shown to him, and of course liable to be influenced by such relations as he may himself choose to give, whilst the offer of all other medical assistance remains unacknowledged, it is impossible for me to

do anything else for his relief than remove, as I have done, the only obstacle which has been stated against his taking the medical advice which he does confide in, or appears so to do, by not further requiring bulletins from the person who gives it.

I have, in the mean time, the honour to enclose to your Lordship a full report from Mr. Baxter,[1] giving every information that can be obtained on the subject.

I have the honour, &c.,

H. Lowe.

No. 110.

To Earl Bathurst, K.G.

(Private.)

My Lord, St. Helena, October 31, 1817.

I hope I shall not have incurred your Lordship's disapproval by sending the packet to the address of the Earl of Liverpool without breaking the seal of it. I am persuaded it is full of complaints against myself, and on that account have felt the greatest delicacy regarding it, but am, at all events, not sorry that it is in the first instance laid before your Lordship, without any comments from myself, and to be compared alone with the reports I have at different times presented, which have been in general so full as to leave me little to add by way of explanation. It is probable this packet may contain the comments which Napoleon Bonaparte desired to show to Sir Pulteney Malcolm on your Lordship's speech in Parliament. The passage that is perhaps most likely to have attracted his attention is that wherein your Lordship, as it is stated in the 'Morning Chronicle,' says "that the range of his limits had not been reduced until it had been found he abused the confidence reposed in him by tampering with the inhabitants," and, as stated in the 'Times,' "that the restrictions had been thought necessary to prevent the possibility of his tampering with the soldiers:" as he had not gone out in the direction where his limits had been restricted since the time of my arrival, it is possible he may have taken offence at this passage; but, so far as

[1] Vide p. 451, *ante*.

regarded means of prevention, which is the footing it is put upon in the 'Times'' report, the object, whether as relating to him or his followers, was always in my view: attempts to tamper with individuals, so as to render them the bearers of clandestine communications to Europe, your Lordship will be readily able to refer to. The message that Napoleon Bonaparte desired Captain Poppleton to take to the officers of the 53rd regiment appeared to evince a disposition of that nature, as well as his mode of conversing about throwing himself on the consideration of the soldiers in the camp at the time his expenses were reducing; but of any actual attempts with a view to direct and immediate evasion I should not be able to cite any particular instance. Mr. Robinson, the father of a good-looking girl, who lived within the limits, at whose house Napoleon Bonaparte used at first to visit, and where the visits of Captain Piontkowski became afterwards exceedingly frequent, was once accused to me, by an officer of the 66th regiment, of having, when in a state of intoxication, held some very remarkable language about the facility of Bonaparte's evasion, and of the fortunes that might be made by those who assisted him; but he denied any recollection whatever of having said what was ascribed to him, and there was no other person than the officer who had been sitting with him to prove it. An accompanying paper, containing information got from Mr. Robinson himself, shows a great deal of attention on the part of Napoleon Bonaparte, from whatever cause proceeding, to his family. The daughter, who is mentioned in the paper under the name of Mrs. Edwards, married a captain of a merchant vessel of that name, and is no longer on the island.

It was mentioned to me, on my first arrival, that Napoleon Bonaparte had been in the habit, when he did go out, of giving money to the lower classes of the people. I ascertained about nine cases where this had been done, mostly to slaves, and for very trifling services, such as opening a gate, bringing a glass of water. All this may have been very possibly without motive, but among the means by which his escape might be promoted there is none certainly that would offer a greater hope of success than such as might arise from a perfectly free and unrestrained intercourse with the inhabitants, not merely the lower classes, but even some of the middling ones, where great temptations

might be offered; and nothing therefore but the paramount plea of Napoleon Bonaparte's health has induced me to assume the additional responsibility I have done, of throwing open the communication within his limits so fully as has been done to his followers as well as him.

Your Lordship will receive by this occasion a map of the limits, with all the houses it contains. Your Lordship will observe in Count Bertrand's extraordinary letter to me of the 30th September that attempts must have been made, wholly unknown to me, to excite and extract opinions from different individuals respecting the mode of treatment adopted towards Napoleon Bonaparte, none of whose names are however mentioned or any way adverted to, except Sir Pulteney Malcolm's, though that of Lord Amherst was spoken of in a verbal communication. The extract I have transmitted from Sir Pulteney Malcolm's orders to the persons under his own immediate authority will best, however, show what were his real sentiments as to the necessity of restrictions upon communication; but these could not be known at Longwood in the same manner as the orders and proclamation issued on shore. . . . . .

In respect to what has been said about Lord Amherst's opinions I am to observe, that a few days before Count Bertrand addressed me Dr. O'Meara told me Napoleon Bonaparte had been speaking to him of his conversation with Lord Amherst; he never mentioned that any opinion had been given by him until the attempt was in contemplation to induce a change in the regulations; and I can only say that, if Lord Amherst did express to Napoleon Bonaparte the opinions which have been ascribed to him (which I can never believe he did), they must have been in direct opposition to what his Lordship had expressed to myself, for, in riding round the limits, I pointed out the restraints which lay against Napoleon Bonaparte's crossing the valleys between the road and Longwood, which he seemed to consider as quite natural; and on mentioning to him I had altered that part of the former regulation where Bonaparte had been requested not to enter into prolonged conversations or enter houses, unless in the presence of a British officer, his Lordship's remark to me was, that he should see no particular hardship in such a rule. I am persuaded his Lordship will fully recollect what I have stated. Mr. Ellis went round

the limits with me, and appeared to see the matter in the same light as Lord Amherst.

Nothing can be more vague and undefined than the "état de choses," as existing in the time of Sir George Cockburn, which Count Bertrand seems so desirous to have restored. It gave no satisfaction whilst he was here, for the discontent against him was almost as violent as against myself. On attempting to analyze it according to anything that has been handed to me in writing, I know scarcely in what the difference exists except in respect to the sentries being posted after sunset instead of nine o'clock at night. Count Bertrand has not attempted to refute the assertion contained in my memorandum of the 14th instant, delivered to him by Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard, that Sir George Cockburn did not *authorise* any correspondence by sealed notes within the island. He says there are twenty witnesses still to prove the "état de choses," but Mr. O'Meara is the only individual whose opinion has been expressed to me in favour of it, and a memorandum of which I have annexed in writing, for reference to Sir George Cockburn, if thought necessary. Sir George Bingham has addressed a letter to me, in which he disclaims all knowledge of a sealed correspondence being tolerated, and Mr. Balcombe, the purveyor, tells me all the notes he received Sir George Cockburn directed should be always *first* sent to him; but even in case Sir George Cockburn may have allowed a note of Madame Bertrand or Montholon to pass unregarded (which I have also myself done), or, going further, that he should have authorised a sealed correspondence within the island, I should still not feel warranted in releasing myself from the obligation imposed upon me by my instructions, of examining every sealed paper, or preventing their being delivered without being examined. Your Lordship's judgment will, however, better determine.

The principal advantage of the "état de choses" in other respects regarded Count Bertrand; but I wish to refer your Lordship on this occasion to the opinions expressed to me by Sir George Cockburn, as stated in the last paragraph of my letter of 1st September, 1816, and think it not irrelevant to add, on the present occasion, that once, in speaking to me of the extensive limits enjoyed by Napoleon Bonaparte, he

remarked, "*I might* restrict them to Longwood," thus sufficiently implying that he had himself gone sufficiently far.

I pray your Lordship's indulgence to the haste of these observations, offered almost whilst the vessel is under weigh. I shall have the honour to address your Lordship again by an early occasion, principally in respect to the line of proceeding I am to adopt towards the Commissioners, to Count Bertrand if he is to be longer suffered in this island, and to Mr. O'Meara.

Baron Stürmer has shown to me the despatch he received from Prince Metternich respecting his line of proceeding in the case of Mr. Welle, and has appeared solicitous I should acquaint your Lordship of his having done so, and that I should mention at the same time there was no existing misunderstanding between us. I have the honour, &c.,

H. Lowe.

Memoranda of a Communication made by Mr. Robinson, referred to in Sir H. Lowe's Private Letter to Earl Bathurst, Oct. 31, 1817.

Captain Piontkowski frequently mentioned that the Emperor would not remain eighteen months on the island; was the bearer of a message to J. R. from Bonaparte, saying when his daughter was married (to Lieutenant Impett, of the 53rd) he should make her a present of *five hundred pounds.* After she had been married to a Captain Edwards they spent about two hours with Bonaparte and all his attendants; he seemed dejected at her leaving the island, filled a glass of wine, and insisted on carrying it himself to her. On their leaving the house he stood in a studious manner until they had walked on some way, then followed them; on overtaking them he embraced Captain Edwards, saying he could not help it, he put him so much in mind of his own brother Joseph.

No. 111.

To Sir Hudson Lowe.

Sir, St. Helena, November 27, 1817.

I have the honour to inform your Excellency that I was called yesterday to visit the Countess Montholon and the

daughter of Count Bertrand at Longwood, and that I afterwards entered into conversation with the Count relative to the health of Napoleon Bonaparte. He said he thought the Emperor looked worse every time he saw him, and that his countenance was more sallow ("jaune"). It was his opinion, that, although his present complaints might not be immediately dangerous, that he would certainly feel the effects of his present state or way of life as long as he lived. He also said that the Emperor did not decline seeing me from any want of confidence on my professional abilities; that, on the contrary, he had a good opinion of me, not only as a professional man, but generally; but that he was unwilling that reports of his health should be published; and should I see him, he knew that would be the case. I have the honour, &c.

ALEX. BAXTER.

No. 112.

To LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

Sir, Colonial Office, December 13, 1817.

I have had the honour of receiving your letter of the 5th of September, enclosing one addressed by General Gourgaud to his mother, in which he expresses his anxiety that he might be permitted to return to Europe and reside with his family.

The uniform propriety with which that officer has behaved during the whole period of his residence in St. Helena, made me anxious to mark, by every practicable indulgence, the sense which I entertain of a line of conduct so different from that observed by others of General Buonaparte's attendants; and I took the earliest opportunity of informing Madame Gourgaud that I was ready, as far as lay in my power, to give every facility to the execution of her son's intention.

I am led from Madame Gourgaud's reply to infer that her wishes entirely coincide with those of her son, and that her only fear is that he may on his return be prohibited from residing in France, in which case it would be the wish of the family to fix their residence in England.

I have at present no means of knowing what may be the feelings of the French Government with respect to their remaining in France, but, as I am not aware of any serious objection to General Gourgaud residing in this country with his family, I have no difficulty in instructing you to permit General Gourgaud to return to England by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and to acquaint him that, in the event of his conduct continuing to be marked by that propriety by which it has hitherto been distinguished, there will be no objection to his residing here, should the French Government, on application, refuse to admit him into France.

I have the honour, &c.

BATHURST.

No. 113.

To EARL BATHURST, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, December 18, 1817.

I avail myself of the passing opportunity of a whaler to transmit to your Lordship the last reports of the state of health of Napoleon Bonaparte; I have confined my reports by this occasion solely to this subject, having in preparation various other communications to address to your Lordship, which will proceed by the Phaëton frigate, expected here in a few days hence, on her way to England from the Isle of France.

The conduct and principles of action of Mr. O'Meara have of late been developing themselves in such a manner as to require a very full relation. He *this day* avowed to me, that last May twelvemonth (that is, immediately after my assuming the government of this island) he pledged his word to Napoleon Bonaparte that he would not reveal any conversation that might pass between them, unless it had a tendency to escape, without making known such a pledge had been given, either to Sir George Cockburn, who was then here, or myself; thus establishing himself in a privity of intercourse with Napoleon Bonaparte, unrestrained by any authority, or any consideration whatever, [other] than what the fear of the penalty alone (in the salvo relating to escape) might be supposed to operate. In making this avowal to me he seemed to boast of and consider it as a

trait of manly independence. I should instantly, on this as well as on other occasions, have removed him from his situation, and have been prevented from doing so by one consideration alone—that of the clamour, and, as it might appear to many, real hardship of depriving Napoleon Bonaparte of the only medical aid he has been willing to consult; but even this consideration must, I should conceive, have its term.

The Commissioners have not of late had any particular intercourse with the persons of Longwood. Count Balmain has only met the Count and Countess Bertrand, their family, and General Gourgaud (all together) once, and Baron Stürmer has met none of them, abstaining from doing so, as he tells me, from deference to my supposed wishes.

I have the honour, &c.

H. Lowe.

No. 114.

To His Excellency Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.

Sir, Longwood, December 23, 1817.

In consequence of some circumstances which have latterly occurred relative to the obligations expected from a person filling the situation which I have the honour to hold, I have conceived it essentially necessary to lay the following statement before your Excellency, for your consideration. When, in August, 1815, Count Bertrand (after having received satisfactory answers from Captain Maitland, of H.M.S. Bellerophon, to the inquiries made by him touching my character and conduct) did me the honour to make application to Admiral Lord Keith for me to accompany Napoleon Bonaparte to St. Helena in quality of surgeon, his Lordship was pleased to approve of and to sanction my accepting of the above-mentioned situation, which, at his Lordship's recommendation, was afterwards confirmed by the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. The appointment therefore was not of my seeking. I never for a moment entertained the most distant idea, that, independent of my medical duties, it was expected that I should make a report of the conversations I might have with the persons whom my duties led me to visit. No such

proposition was ever made to me, either by Admiral Lord Keith, or Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, nor was even the most distant insinuation to that effect made by the above-mentioned distinguished characters.

When asked by Napoleon Bonaparte to tell him candidly whether he ought to consider me as surgeon "d'un galère," or as a medical man in whom he could repose confidence, I replied, that I was not surgeon "d'un galère;" that I was a surgeon, and not a spy, and one in whom, I hoped, he might place confidence; that my principles were to forget the conversations I held with my patients on leaving the room, unless as far as regarded my allegiance as a British officer to my sovereign and country; and that my orders only obliged me to one thing, to wit, to give immediate notice to the Governor, in case of any serious illness befalling him, in order that the best medical advice might promptly be afforded.

When asked again, subsequently, whether I was not obliged (by your instructions, Sir) to go twice a-week to Plantation House to make reports, and what the nature of such reports or communications was, I referred to the sentiments I have expressed above. When minutely interrogated by you, Sir, as to the number of interviews and the subject of conversation I have had; and when informed by you, Sir, that I was no judge of the importance of the subject of any conversations I might have; that I had no business to set up my own judgment upon the nature of them; that you might think several things of great importance which I might consider as trifling and uninteresting; I had the honour to reply, that if I was not at liberty to exercise my discretion or judgment, as to the importance or otherwise of such conversations as I might be present at, there was evidently no other alternative than that of reporting to you every syllable which passed, the doing of which would place me in the situation of a man acting a most base and dishonourable part; in fact, that I would be a spy and a "*mouton*," and that such conduct would cover my name with well-merited infamy, and render me unfit for the society of any man of honour.

He who, clothed with the specious garb of a physician, insinuates himself into the confidence of his patient, and avails himself of the frequent opportunities and facilities which his

situation necessarily presents of being near his person, to wring, under the pretence of curing or alleviating his infirmities, and in that confidence which has been from times immemorial reposed by the sick in persons professing the healing art, disclosures of his patient's sentiments, for the purpose of afterwards betraying them, deserves most justly to be branded with the appellation of "mouton."

I have had the honour to inform you, Sir, that Napoleon Bonaparte, after having satisfied himself of the truth of the assertion that written reports of the state of his health were made by me without his privity, refused, although then very ill, to consult me for several days; and from his well-known character, there is no doubt that he would have refused all medical aid whatsoever, if his surgeon was obliged to be a spy.

In answer to your question of the 18th of this month, of whether I had given my word of honour not to make any written reports of the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health without previously obtaining his consent and leaving the originals in his possession, I had the honour to reply to you, Sir, that I had avoided giving such a pledge, by stating, according to your directions, that no more would be asked without first acquainting him.

I have the honour to acquaint you, Sir, that Count Bertrand has signified to me that, with respect to the title, it might be easy to arrange matters by making use of no proper name in the reports, and by substituting in lieu thereof the word "personage," or "the patient;" that, provided this was done, previous consent being obtained, and the original deposited with one of the French suite, there would be no objection to written reports of the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health being made. The substance of this communication I have already had the honour of making known to you verbally, on the 15th of October and the 14th of this present month.

Having at various times received contradictory instructions from you, Sir, I beg leave to reiterate the request I have frequently made to you before, to wit, to be furnished with instructions in writing, to the end that I may well comprehend my situation and what is required from me, and to prevent the possibility of mistakes which may arise from verbal instructions being either forgotten or badly comprehended.

It is with infinite pain, Sir, that I feel myself obliged to refer to the ignominious treatment which I have suffered from you in your own house, especially upon two occasions. Were I culpable, even the sentence of a court-martial could not authorize the intemperate and opprobrious epithets so liberally bestowed upon me, and being twice turned out of doors in the presence of witnesses, the last time not without some apprehension on my part of experiencing personal violence. I have, Sir, had the honour of serving my country in the Royal Navy for several years, until now without censure, and, perhaps, not without some little commendation; and I must protest against any person, however superior in rank, making use of language and treatment towards me unworthy of, and degrading to, an officer who has the honour to serve in His Majesty's Navy.

I have the honour to be, Sir, with all due respect, your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

BARRY E. O'MEARA.

No. 115.

Instead of the following letter, which was the real reply to O'Meara's letter of December 23, 1817, O'Meara sent home for publication in the 'Morning Chronicle' (August, 1818), as the reply to his letter, another letter, which was written to him by Sir Thomas Reade *on the 10th of April*, 1818, and which related to a different subject:—

LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR THOMAS READE TO MR. O'MEARA.

Sir, St. Helena, January 19, 1818.

The Governor has directed me to make the following remarks on your letter of the 23rd December. The first paragraph speaks of "*the obligations expected from a person filling the situation you have the honour to hold.*" The Governor knows of no obligations expected from you, excepting those which relate to your medical attendance upon Napoleon Bonaparte; and those which all British subjects residing on the island are bound in, by Act of Parliament, when required to be assisting to the Governor in the execution of his duty.

The second paragraph states the mode of your appointment

as surgeon to Napoleon Bonaparte, and says the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty had *confirmed you in it.* The Governor has not seen this *confirmation*, and upon inquiry it has turned out precisely as he expected—that nothing more was done by their Lordships than merely to direct Sir George Cockburn to bear you upon the books of the Northumberland as a supernumerary surgeon, in order that you might not lose your time of service, and might receive your pay as a naval surgeon, whilst you continued to be employed ashore in attendance upon him. All this was very distinctly expressed in a letter you addressed to the Governor dated 6th August, 1816, wherein you informed him at the same time you were not to be in any way *dependent upon or subservient to Napoleon Bonaparte*, but to be considered as a *British officer employed by the British Government*, which latter part of your engagement is entirely omitted in your *present* statement, but its place is supplied by a communication of that into which you entered with Napoleon Bonaparte, *omitted in the first one.* The following paragraph says "that you never for a moment," &c. The whole of this paragraph is in a style of the most disrespectful insinuation against the Governor: it dares not assert he ever proposed or insinuated you should make *reports* of the conversations you might have, &c., because this would have been a manifest perversion of the real truth, but, by your reference to what his predecessor in office *did not*, leaves what you insinuate to work its way against him for having done differently. The fact is that, on the Governor's arrival here, he found you to be in the constant habit of waiting on Sir George Cockburn, informing him personally of anything interesting or important you learnt at Longwood; and it was not until Sir George had reported to the Governor in your presence some particulars of which you had been just informing him that he requested you when learning anything further of a similar nature to acquaint him of it, which Sir George Cockburn recommended you to do: but so far from expecting you to *make reports* of the conversations you might hear, or insinuating anything to that effect, he expressly mentioned to you, and has since frequently repeated, that, with respect to the occurrences of Napoleon Bonaparte's past life (which might be supposed to form the principal subjects of his conversations), he was in

general regardless of the information to be given, only desiring to be made acquainted with such matters as it might be important for him to be informed of relative to his own duties on this island; to which not a shadow of objection or hesitation was shown by you, but, on the contrary, from the time of the Governor's arrival until about the period when Napoleon Bonaparte began to seclude himself from the observation of any other English person than yourself, you appeared to make no secret to the Governor of anything that was at all necessary or proper for him to be informed of, nor leaving him the possibility of suspecting any pledges had been made to prevent you.

The next paragraph relates the conversation you had with Napoleon Bonaparte when he asked you if you were to be the surgeon "d'un galère," &c. It does not appear when this conversation took place, whether during the time of Sir George Cockburn or of the Governor. If during the *latter*, it only shows you had one line of conduct for the Governor and another for the Admiral. The reference in the paragraph to an order you had received to report any sickness to the Governor would naturally lead to the inference the conversation happened during his time; but you have told him it was from the *Admiral* you *received that order*. If you referred, then, to an order the *Admiral* had given you, the inference is more probable that it took place during *his* time, but the Governor, notwithstanding that ambiguity, does not suspect your having offered any pledges during the time you were under the direct authority of an officer of your own service; in either case, the contrast between what you stated to Napoleon Bonaparte to be the *principles* upon which "*you hoped he might place confidence in you*," viz. that of *forgetting* the conversation held with your patient on leaving the room, and what he has known to have been your *practice*, the Governor cannot here pass without notice.

He desires to recal to your remembrance the circumstance of his addressing you regarding a letter which had appeared in a Portsmouth newspaper,[1] upon which occasion, after confessing you had suffered yourself so far to be tampered with by Count Montholon as to allow him to leave in your room the duplicate

[1] Vide vol. i. p. 301.

of his letter to the Governor, for the purpose, as he had expressed to you, of being transmitted to England, to be published in the 'Morning Chronicle' newspaper, you avowed that, though you had not then sent any copy of it to England, you had some intention to have made extracts from it, to transmit to a person in the Admiralty; and in your then great anxiety and desire to find some justification for the private communications your opportunities near Napoleon Bonaparte had before enabled you to transmit, you exhibited to him, unasked for and unthought of, a letter marked "secret and confidential," returning you thanks for the various relations you had given, and desiring a continuance of them. Another strong contrast of the *principles* you expressed to Napoleon Bonaparte with your *practice* is contained in the commencement of a letter you addressed to the Governor, dated the 28th of January, 1817.[1]

The paragraph which next follows states, that "when asked again," &c.

In reply to a question at what time you renewed your assurance referred to in this paragraph, you said that about the middle of October (it was on the 15th of October) you addressed a letter to the Governor, stating that Napoleon Bonaparte had prohibited your transmitting any written bulletins of his health, unless you gave him the imperial title in them, and showed them first to him, after they had been subject to such modifications as his desire of secresy in respect to any particular symptoms might prescribe to you. For upwards of a fortnight preceding, and for nearly three months subsequent to that period, Napoleon Bonaparte did not receive the visit of any British officer, medical or otherwise, *except yourself*, secluding himself entirely from the *eye* and *observation* of any *British authority whatever*. It was during this period also an extraordinary effort was made to obtain a repeal of some of the most important regulations for his safe custody, on the ground of his health.

Napoleon Bonaparte perfectly well knew that the Governor's delicacy would not admit him to suffer a personal intrusion on his privacy by any medical or other officer of his choice alone,

[1] Vide p. 84, *ante*.

and that consequently the only one from whom any information could be obtained of his real situation was you. In reply to his question, you offer, without its being apparently called for by him (as you have stated this question), the renewal of a bond of secrecy, given in the *first instance* without the Governor's knowledge, and the *renewal* of which you *equally conceal from him;* you are, Sir, responsible for every consequence of this act; the assurances you gave were unauthorized and unwarrantable; unauthorized, because you had no business to communicate with him upon any instructions which the Governor had given you, without his knowledge or permission, or without at least making known to him you had made such communications; unwarrantable, since he had told you you had not his authority for communicating with Napoleon Bonaparte on any other subject than your medical duties; and therefore any reference to past declarations, when you had assured him you were not surgeon "d'un galère," that you were not a "spy," and "that you hoped he might place confidence in you," was encouraging a most unfounded mistrust in his mind towards the Governor; insinuating yourself into his confidence by the most unjustifiable means, and lending a clandestine and subservient aid to what your letter has made appear to have been his double view, of confining all information whatever respecting him to your single channel, and attaching an odium at the same time to the most natural questions the Governor might make to the only individual under his authority whom necessity absolutely compelled him to see.

The Governor holds your concealment of the assurances given so long from him the more culpable, as you have frequently since told him you had no conversation with Napoleon Bonaparte that had relation to his duties; or where you have confessed that other topics except those relating to your own duties have been brought forward by him, your answer has always been (not that you had given any pledge of secrecy, which would have opened the Governor's eyes at once to the close nature of your relation with Napoleon Bonaparte, but) nothing important,—nothing interesting; or, with an assumed air of independence, which was only a cover for the actual subservience and dependence to which your pledges had reduced you, that you would not act the part of a *spy*.

The next paragraph remarks upon the Governor's minute interrogations of you, and then brings forward part of a conversation you had with him, keeping back, however, what is essential for the right understanding of what passed. Such minute interrogations must be unpleasing to those who are pledged to secrecy. The Governor owes to them, however, the disclosure of the pledges given.

The Governor perfectly recollects, when your replies to his questions have been "nothing extraordinary—nothing important," he has said, things might not appear so to you which might appear so to him; he perfectly also recollects the reply you made, in which you pushed to the alternative [*sic*] of relating *all* that was said; but his answer to this *you have not stated*, viz. that he did not ask you to tell him *all*, only matters relating to his duties, on that occasion specifically referring to a letter he had written to Count Bertrand, in which your name had been spoken of; after saying you had not any conversation with Napoleon Bonaparte on that letter, you mentioned having spoken with another person of his family regarding it; but the only circumstance you did mention in respect to the letter the Governor had heard related in a different manner by another person a few days before; such points may not, Sir, appear important to you, but they do so to him.

The following paragraph is in the same strain as the preceding.

It suffices to refer to what has been before said, as to the difference between "principles and practice," to collate this paragraph with the secret and confidential letter you received, and the commencement of your letter to the Governor of the 28th of January.

By the pledges given you are bound not to reveal anything which passes in conversation with Napoleon Bonaparte, whilst no person whatever with whom you converse or associate has required any such pledges from you; you are released from all obligations *to others*,—bound only *to him*. The state of subservience and dependence upon him cannot be rendered more manifest.

The paragraph which next follows speaks of Napoleon Bonaparte, after having satisfied himself of the truth of the assertion that written reports of his health were made without his privity,

refused [*sic*] to consult you, and would take no medical advice if a surgeon was *obliged to be a spy*. The use of this latter term appears to all cases, even information in what regarded your medical duty [*sic*]. He wishes to refer you to your letter of the 15th of October, where it is stated Napoleon Bonaparte was aware such reports were delivered. At all events the Governor never prohibited you from showing them to him, and, if they were delivered to him without Napoleon Bonaparte's privity, it was entirely your own act. *The very first day* you mentioned to the Governor that Napoleon Bonaparte had an objection to reports being delivered unless they were previously shown to him, he said that he was not aware there was any particular objection to it, and told you to say so to him; but under all the circumstances (as before referred to) in which the bulletins were to be written, he should require another day to consider his final answer. He decided upon asking no written reports at all, but, if he did demand them, he pledged his word to you you might assure Napoleon Bonaparte you would not be called upon to deliver such without being authorised to acquaint him of it.

The next paragraph repeats a question from the Governor to you on the 18th of December. Your answer, the Governor desires me to say, Sir, was by no means so clear and explicit as your letter states it to be; the simple "*yes*" or "*no*" was not given, and it was not until after repeated questions an answer was given nearly in the same terms as your letter expresses; even this did not entirely satisfy him, for, in fact, it appears that *precisely at this period* a pledge was renewed by you to Napoleon Bonaparte unknown to the Governor, and the information of it kept back in your replies to him.

In your letter of the 15th of October you stated Napoleon Bonaparte, unless you pledged your word of honour not to present any written reports of his health, except under the forms he desired, would never see or consult you again as a physician. To avoid the necessity of your giving such pledge, the Governor authorised you to say he would require no written reports; you found means notwithstanding to convey a pledge to him, not called for in any respect for the execution of your duty as a surgeon or physician, as no pledge could be required *from you*, after what the Governor had authorised you to say *from himself*, on either of these questions; and you had no authority

from him to communicate with, still less offer pledges to, Napoleon Bonaparte on any other.

In repeating the first question put to you on the 18th of December by the Governor, you have omitted any notice of the *second*. After having satisfied him but imperfectly whether you had not given your word of honour to Napoleon Bonaparte that you would not deliver any written reports without showing them to him, he next asked you whether you had pledged yourself in any other way not to reveal conversations which might have passed. Your answer to him, taken down in your own presence, and shown to you, stands expressed in the following terms:—"*Mr. O'Meara says he pledged his word to Napoleon Bonaparte not to reveal the conversations that passed between themselves, except they had a tendency to his (Napoleon Bonaparte's) escape, last May was a twelvemonth.*" The omission of this last remarkable passage of your conversation with the Governor, in a letter which states so many other parts of it, needs no comment. He shall here refer to some dates and other particulars.

In a letter addressed to Lord Keith, dated 7th of August, 1815, you state it is only upon the condition that you are not to be in any wise *dependent upon* or *subservient to* Napoleon Bonaparte, but as a *British officer*, employed by the *British Government*, you consent to accompany him to St. Helena as his surgeon. In the month of May, 1816 (that is, immediately on the Governor's arrival here), you pledge yourself in a bond of secresy to Napoleon Bonaparte upon every other point than that which the law would compel you to disclose, or hold you privy to a felony if you concealed, without making known to the authority under which you, on your own application, were to be dependent, that any such pledge to the person upon whom you were not in *any wise* to be depending, or subservient to, had been given. On the 6th of August following you address a letter to the Governor soliciting an increase of your pay; you make known the condition expressed in your letter to Lord Keith, but withhold all information of the pledges you had given in the mean time to Napoleon Bonaparte, not leaving ground even to suppose the possibility of any such having been made, as you were frequently, and of your own accord, giving very full information to the Governor of the conversations you

had with Napoleon Bonaparte, and occasionally delivering to him written details of the same, for the purpose of being sent to his Government. It is true you told the Governor on one occasion you had told him *too much*, but on another you said you had *not told him all.*

In the month of July, 1817, you are found to be repeating insulting messages from Napoleon Bonaparte to the Governor, obtaining indirectly his reception of them, and not disclosing until after he had received them you had been charged by Napoleon Bonaparte to deliver them to him. He finds it necessary to declare to you you have not *his* authority for communicating with Napoleon Bonaparte upon any subject whatsoever [other] than that relating to your medical duty, and that if you reply to or converse with him on other subjects the responsibility must entirely rest upon yourself.

In the month of October following Napoleon Bonaparte shuts himself up, and you renew your pledges to him, binding yourself to secresy upon almost every other subject than your medical duty, upon which alone, however, you had the Governor's authority to communicate to [with?] him.

On the 28th of the same month, on a question from the Governor, what you yourself thought you were called upon to make known of your conversations with Napoleon Bonaparte, your answer was, attempts at evasion and *unauthorised communication*, and that you thought it your *duty* also to state matters of importance to Government, or which regarded the Governor's duties; on the 25th November, when urged by some questions on the latter point, you insult the Governor with saying you will not be a spy or a "*mouton.*"

On the 18th December, pushed by his interrogations, the avowal comes forth of the pledge you have entered into in the month of May twelvemonth, and five days afterwards you address a letter to him, wherein, when concealment had become no longer possible, you make the first written acknowledgments of pledges, in terms differing from what had been verbally communicated, but without mention of any date that might serve to compare. You then ask the Governor for his instructions: it is an insult not merely to him, but to the British Government, to ask for instructions after the engagements into which you have entered with Napoleon Bonaparte, without reference to

previous or after communicating with any British authority whatever.

The succeeding paragraph contains a singular kind of official intimation of a piece of conversation held to you by Count Bertrand, which is in consonance, as the Governor supposes, to the views you wish to bring more particularly into notice by referring to what you state to have said on the same subject on the 14th of December, as well as the 15th of October last. The Governor has no precise recollection of your having said anything to him as coming either from Napoleon Bonaparte or Count Bertrand on the 15th of October last, whatever conjecture you might have offered in your *own* name; but whatever you said, whether as from them or from yourself, must have been in direct contradiction to the written communication you addressed him the same day, 18th [qu. 15th?] of October. Count Bertrand is made to say in this letter, there was no other mode of arranging matters than using the word "*l'Empereur;*" and "Napoleon Bonaparte" that you must call him by the *title* applied to him *by his own officers.* When the Governor requires written reports from you he will acquaint you of the form in which he wishes to receive them, and he desires you will not again presume to address to him, in an official manner, any observations made to you by Count Bertrand, or even by Napoleon Bonaparte himself, unless, after their being verbally communicated, he should require you so to do.

The next paragraph talks of contradictory instructions having been received from the Governor. The term is both unfounded and disrespectful. He has never given you any instructions except to occasionally report to him the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's health. If you mean by instructions the declaration he has at different times made to you, that you had *not his authority* for communicating with Napoleon Bonaparte upon any other subject than that of your medical duty,—that he did not order you *not* to reply to him on other points, but when you did so the responsibility must rest entirely upon yourself,—he has never suffered you to quit his presence where such matter has been spoken of without giving you an explanation as above, referring you in every other point, when you have asked him for written instructions, to the proclamations.

The last paragraph of your letter is best answered by a brief

relation of circumstances. On the 25th of November the Governor asked you how often you had lately seen Napoleon Bonaparte; your reply was, Frequently, and sometimes upwards of an hour together. He asked you what were the subjects of conversation,—anything of importance for him to be informed of? your answer was, he spoke but little; that you did not wish to put any questions, but confined yourself to *medical subjects, as he had desired you.* The Governor afterwards asked you if nothing had been said upon the subject of a letter which had been written to him, in which your name and duties had been frequently referred to; you had heard something of the subject, but from another source: the information you gave was, as before related, at variance with what he had heard from another quarter. The Governor remarked upon the strange kind of concealment you were practising towards him, when your reply was, you could not be a spy and a "*mouton.*" On the Governor's asking you the meaning of the latter term, which he was unacquainted with, your answer was, "One who insinuates himself into the confidence of others for the purpose of extracting secrets from them, and then repeats them;" and this observation you made to him on the same day when, as above stated, you said you had confined yourself to *medical subjects alone, as he had desired you.*

The Governor has had to endure a great deal of provoking language from Napoleon Bonaparte himself, and can make allowances not merely for him, but for the French officers who have followed his fortune, all of whom have filled distinguished situations in his army, and are suffering under very severe pangs of mortification and disappointment; but to be bearded in his own house by an English officer, attached in a very subordinate station to them (holding that situation solely from the Governor's past forbearance towards him), who borrows their sentiments and their phrases, and presumes to retail them in reply to the most common questions on duty from him, demands a degree of patience which he is in no respect bound to observe; and, considering the provocation given, both by the use of the term itself and the signification offered of it, he conceives himself to have acted with great moderation in simply directing you as he did to immediately quit his room, and in acquainting you that but for the state of Napoleon Bonaparte's

health he would not suffer you to remain on the island an hour longer.

The second instance was when, after a lapse of eighteen months, the avowal was extracted from you of the pledge you had given to Napoleon Bonaparte in the month of May twelvemonth, that is immediately after the Governor's arrival here. You again on this occasion, to cover the concealment you had been practising towards him, used the word "spy;" he again ordered you to quit the room, addressing you a reproach as you left it upon the want of candour with which you had acted in making the pledge you did to Napoleon Bonaparte, and not informing him of it, concluding with the observation, "You ought to sink in the ground in making the avowal of it." He sees nothing to recal or regret, in manner, act, or expressions, on either occasion.

Your letter finishes with a reference to your services and situation as a naval surgeon. This is the first time you have signed your name in that capacity or made any particular reference to your situation as such, always before replying to the Governor you considered yourself under his authority. Your prior service in the army, with which he was until very recently totally unacquainted, you have not thought fit to refer to: if the reference was necessary in one case for any purpose of information respecting you, it was also so in the other.

The Governor now directs me to say that, as in the letter you have addressed to him you have made yourself the instrument for conveying a slanderous insinuation, in the name of a person who cannot be cited to appear for it, against the British Government as well as himself, he will hold you responsible for having inserted the expression conveying such insinuation in an official letter to him, abetting and giving force to the same, as you have done, by the mode and time of your repeating it, as also for every instance where the letter containing such expression may have been, or may be, shown to any other person, or where you may write or repeat the expression above referred to.

The Governor further directs me to say that, having on the occasion of your giving up to him the letter you had received from Count Montholon, and showing to him the "confidential and secret" letter before referred to, as well as on other occasions, particularly cautioned you against repeating or transmit-

ting home accounts of what you might hear at Longwood, unless it was for the information of Government, when he was the proper channel for its transmission, he will hold you now more fully responsible, as a receiver and bearer of unauthorised communications, for everything you may have written or repeated, or may write or repeat, of your conversations there since *your pledges were given*, unless in those instances when the communication has been, or may be, addressed to him.

He will hold, in particular, the repetition of any slanderous or injurious expressions, whether respecting any member of the British Government or any officer who has been or may be charged with the execution of its instructions on this island, to be the same as, or even a higher offence, than if the words had been originally uttered by yourself; the situation of Napoleon Bonaparte as a prisoner of war, and otherwise not admitting any redress for what in moments of anger and disappointment he may be led to utter, whilst difficulty exists to know from him if what you state of his expressions be correct or not, and your having no authority to enter into a secret compact with a person thus situated, whereby, under the cover of your attendance upon him as an officer employed by the British Government, on the one hand, you are first admitted near him, and then, as his private surgeon, on the other, you offer your pledges to him unknown to the authority which sanctioned your employment, thus exciting his confidence by unwarrantable means to make disclosures to you, with hardly any other check on their further repetition than in his desire or your own discretion and convenience, as is plainly evinced in the expression which your letter has repeated, and has been still more so in others.

I am further directed by the Governor to acquaint you, that, should the several injunctions expressed in this letter, and the declaration before made to you and repeated in it (viz. that you had not his authority for communicating with Napoleon Bonaparte or the other persons of his family on any other subject than your medical duties, that he did not order you not to reply on other points, but where you did so the responsibility must rest upon yourself, referring you to the proclamation in all other cases), produce any embarrassment to the Governor in his relations with him or them, or lead to any inconvenience for Napoleon Bonaparte himself, the Governor will hold you

responsible for the same, as the natural result of the unauthorised pledges into which you have entered, which have superseded the exercise not merely of his judgment and discretion on such a point by your own, but even that of Government, as no reference whatever has been made to the authority or sentiments of either in any of the pledges you have given; he declares them, as given unknown to him, to be opposed to law and proclamation, and a breach in principle of the orders of the British Government, which prohibit all communication with Napoleon Bonaparte except through the Governor's agency, and of the orders of your naval superiors, which, as officially communicated to the Governor by the late Admiral commanding on the station, expressly interdict any naval officer of whatever rank from holding communication of any sort, by *writing or otherwise, upon any subject whatever*, with the foreign personages under detention at Longwood, without communicating *particularly and directly his intentions and wishes* thereupon to the naval Commander-in-Chief, and obtaining his permission for the same, which latter, in the case of the pledges you gave, could not, the Governor is well assured, have been granted either upon *previous* or *after* applications to the Admiral, without his informing the Governor of it.

In conclusion, as you have thought proper to address a letter to the Governor, he has directed me to reply to it, but he will not allow me to enter into any further correspondence with you on the points it refers to, though, if elucidation or explanation is desired by the superior authority of your own service on this station, to whom he has no objection that you show your letter and this reply, he shall always be ready to afford it.

I am, Sir, &c.,

T. Reade, Lieut.-Col. and Dep. Adj.-Gen.

[The following is the letter which O'Meara published, instead of the preceding one, as the answer to his own letter. The circumstance that that letter demanded "instructions" as to his general course of conduct, and that the following one happened to contain "instructions" *that he was not to quit Longwood without permission*, facilitated the fraud. The letter was written in consequence of his conduct with respect to the present of the snuff-box.]

LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR THOMAS READE TO MR. O'MEARA.

Sir, St. Helena, April 10, 1818.

I am directed by Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe to convey to you his instructions that, except in the event of anything extraordinary occurring which you might feel it your duty to report immediately in person to him, you are not to quit Longwood without permission, except under a call for medical attendance when other medical aid is not at hand, or unless under the circumstance of Napoleon Bonaparte passing outside the grounds of Longwood, when, if he should require it, you may follow him; observing, however, that, pursuant to the original arrangement made by Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, your attendance upon him cannot be considered as supplying the place of a British officer, should he pass beyond the limits.

Your immediate attendance upon the naval Commander-in-Chief, should he at any time require it, is also an exception to the above rule.

In case of your feeling it necessary or desiring to call in or consult with other medical aid, you will apply forthwith to Mr. Baxter (or to any nearer medical person if the suddenness of the case should require it), making known the same to the orderly officer, who has orders to place a dragoon at your disposition for the above or any other purpose you may want one connected with your medical duty.

I am, Sir, &c.,

T. READE, Lieut.-Col. D. A. G.

No. 116.

TO EARL BATHURST, K.G.

My Lord, St. Helena, December 26, 1817.

In continuation of the subject of my letter of the 30th October, I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that, nearly a fortnight having elapsed without my having received any answer from Count Bertrand to my letters of the 26th and 28th October, I judged they had become in a certain degree

satisfied at Longwood I had done my utmost to meet the desires entertained there with respect to any change in the existing regulations, and would patiently await the determination of your Lordship as to any further alteration. Under this impression I felt no anxiety about sending to Count Bertrand any detailed answer to his letter of the 30th September, whatever observations I might think fit to address upon it to your Lordship. On the 13th November, however, I received a short letter from Count Bertrand,[1] again referring me to his letter of the 30th September, and answering in a very unsatisfactory manner the letter which I had written to him with respect to the enclosure for the Earl of Liverpool. I resolved, therefore, to express my sentiments to him on both these points. It never occurred to me to send any detailed refutation to him of the charges brought against me in the letter of the 30th September, which Napoleon Bonaparte must himself have known better than any other person to be full of the grossest misrepresentations, and only calculated to produce effect on the minds of persons who were wholly unacquainted with the circumstances, and written probably with a view to clandestine circulation or publication, in the same way as Count Montholon's letter; but upon all other points I thought it right to show him that the general system of his conduct and proceedings were [was?] well understood by me, and that he was indebted to my forbearance alone for my not having before made them known to him. I wrote a letter to him dated the 18th November,[2] but which was not delivered to him until the 22nd.

A few days afterwards, 27th November, Mr. Baxter called at Count Bertrand's and had a conversation with him, wherein Count Bertrand stated that the principal objection against Napoleon Bonaparte's seeing him arose from his dislike to having bulletins published of his health. Nothing could exceed (Mr. Baxter informed me) the flattery and adulation Count Bertrand used towards him on that occasion, acquainting him there was no person on the island of whose talents and acquirements "the Emperor" had so high an opinion—"qu'il le savait un homme de lumières"—and other expressions of similar nature; thus attempting to prove to him that no kind of personal

[1] Vide p. 220, *ante*.

[2] Vide pp. 220-7, *ante*.

objection against him existed. The ground of objection being therefore the bulletin alone, and as Napoleon Bonaparte, after such a communication from Count Bertrand to Mr. Baxter, might ascribe to me the same intentions which he had done on a former occasion when speaking to Mr. O'Meara, viz. that, if I required a bulletin, it was "una tornara" (a shift) to deprive him of all medical aid in order to hasten more speedily his end, I determined instantly to remove this objection. I adopted on this occasion a new mode of communication to Napoleon Bonaparte, writing a memorandum for his information, and enclosing it to Count Bertrand to be laid before him.

My letter of the 18th November had remained unanswered; the note and memorandum which were transmitted on the 28th November drew forth a very remarkable comment on and reply to the former. It was on the 29th November I received a letter from Count Bertrand, with some observations made by Napoleon Bonaparte himself in an apostille on my letter of the 18th November,[1] not taking any notice, however, of the memorandum which I had enclosed to Count Bertrand respecting Mr. Baxter, but only commenting upon my preceding letters. Count Bertrand adverted simply to the conversation he had had with Mr. Baxter, but makes no acknowledgment of the proposition contained in my memorandum. It will appear from Count Bertand's letter of the 29th November he must have experienced some alarm at mine of the 18th, and had been compelled to throw himself upon Napoleon Bonaparte for a reply to it. His letter is written in the tone of a person who appears sensible he has gone too far in his own name, and at the same time wished to parry any further attack upon him in consequence of having done so. I resolved however to follow up the observations I had made in my letter of the 18th November with some remarks upon the apostille which had been transmitted me in the name of Napoleon, and they will be found in the margin of that paper.[2]

I replied at the same time[3] in a full manner to Count Bertrand on the subject of the conversation he had with Mr. Baxter, and in conclusion offered Mr. Baxter's advice in any way what-

[1] Vide pp. 227-8, *ante*. [2] Vide pp. 231-4, *ante*.
[3] Vide pp. 229-31, *ante*.

ever Napoleon Bonaparte might please to accept it, whether by giving no bulletins at all, or giving them in the forms he desired (the sole acknowledgment of the imperial title, which was not put in question about Mr. Baxter however, of course excepted). On the 9th December I received an acknowledgment for the receipt of these communications, but no particular reply to any of them, and thus, I believe, the correspondence has terminated.

Napoleon Bonaparte has not seen Mr. Baxter, nor has any medical man (Mr. O'Meara alone excepted) or any English person whatever been admitted to his presence during a period of three months that he has been indisposed. I have it not, therefore, in my power to offer to your Lordship the testimony of any second English person, whether medical or otherwise, as to his state of health and disposition, whether of body or mind. Sir George Bingham has called three times at Longwood, but never been admitted. I have the honour, &c.

H. Lowe.

P.S. Since writing the above Mr. Balcombe, the purveyor, has been admitted to see Napoleon Bonaparte. His information to me, which, however, gives no fresh light, is referred to in an accompanying letter and its enclosure.

H. L.

No. 117.

To Sir Hudson Lowe.

My dear Sir Hudson, Knollecombe Cottage, Dec. 30, 1817.

In answer to your note of yesterday's date, referring to a passage in a letter of Count Bertrand's, respecting the limits allowed for exercise to Napoleon Bonaparte unaccompanied by a British officer, and the opinion he states to have been offered on the subject, I must again assure you that I have never made any remarks or held any conversation with either of the individuals at Longwood relative to it. I have myself always considered the space allowed as ample, and quite sufficient for the preservation of health; and such officers as have landed here,

and whom I have occasionally accompanied to Longwood, have been invariably struck with the injustice of any complaint on that point; nor can I call to my recollection ever having heard of any person who has expressed sentiments similar to those alluded to by the Count since I have been on the island.

I remain, my dear Sir Hudson, ever faithfully yours,

G. R. BINGHAM.

END OF VOL. II.

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